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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LXXIX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

W. B. HENRY P. J. PARSONS

and

A. BENAÏSSA R.-L. CHANG D. COLOMO G. B. D'ALESSIO  
M. DE KREJČ M. EAGER N. GONIS M. A. HARDER F. MALTOMINI  
M. MOUNTFORD D. OBBINK L. PRAUSCELLO D. W. RATHBONE

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

H. AMIRAV W. S. BARRETT G. BEVAN J. D. THOMAS J. YUAN

AND AN APPENDIX

*Games, Competitors, and Performers in Roman Egypt*

by

S. REMIJSEN

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A. BENAÏSSA  
A. K. BOWMAN  
G. B. D'ALESSIO  
J. D. THOMAS  
*Advisory editors*

N. GONIS  
D. OBBINK  
P. J. PARSONS  
*General editors*

## PREFACE

On 20 June 2012 the British Academy played host to an event designed to celebrate the London Olympic Games: 'Training, Cheating, Winning, Praising: Athletes and Shows in Papyri from Roman Egypt'. At the attendant workshop, a group of scholars presented relevant unpublished papyri from Oxyrhynchus. This volume publishes these papyri, and others on related topics.

Oxyrhynchites had a wide range of spectacles to watch: plays and mimes in the theatre, athletic and musical competitions at gymnasial and higher levels, chariot racing and other circus entertainments.

In the background we sense the classical tradition of the Great Games, whose origins and history continued to be discussed (5192–3). Oxyrhynchites read Pindar's *Epinikia* (5201), and epic accounts of mythical Games (5190). They read also classical Tragedy and Comedy (5183–6, 5195–7), especially the New Comedy of Menander (5198–5200). From other papyri, which specify the actors for each part, we know that some plays were actually performed in the theatre; the same was true of mimes (5188–90), which range from solo scena to paratragic drama to knockabout farce. More economically, a soloist offers a selection of songs from the shows (5203).

The agonistic tradition continued in the Hellenistic monarchies, expanded in the Roman period, and in Egypt reached its height in the third century, when Oxyrhynchus founded its own Capitoline Games (AD 273); we are indebted to Dr S. Remijsen for so expertly setting the scene (pp. 190–206). At local level, there were epehic games (5206); students competed in rhetorical exercises (5194), amateur poets revived the epinician ode (5191), budding pancratiasts read their training manual (5204). In the wider world, there were stars like the poet, scholar and brassy publicist Apion (5202), or the Olympic boxer and wrestler Plutarchus (5207). Such 'sacred victors' (5211) could claim many privileges in their home town, including exemption from liturgies (5210); powerful trade unions, the World-wide Associations of Athletes and of Dionysiac Artists (5208), lobbied for the rights of sportsmen and performers. Winning was important. If you bribe your opponent to lose, you are careful to document the transaction (5209).

Sport and entertainment maintain their place in the fifth and sixth centuries. The authorities provide meat both for athletes and for mime artists (5212–13), and women mimes give their name to a street (5214). The town had long had a hippodrome, now called 'circuit'. This no doubt offered the revived chariot races so central to Byzantine politics and fandom; and the variety shows which, as we know from programme leaflets (5215–18), included singers, gymnasts and of course mimes. Winning remains important. Christians they may be, but desperate punters or partisans do not shrink from invoking the old magic to nobble the horses of the Blues (5205).

We record our gratitude to the contributors who have handled so many difficult texts; to Dr R.-L. Chang and Dr D. Colomo for their skill in conserving the papyri and precision in checking transcripts; and to Dr W. B. Henry, who contributed corrections and improvements throughout, compiled the indexes, produced the final copy, and oversaw the correction of proofs. As before, Dr Jeffrey Dean typeset the volume with wonderful sureness, and the Charlesworth Group produced it efficiently and on schedule; a generous offer made by Mr Paul Lynn helped with the costs. The research that informs it would have been impossible without the liberal support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy.

January 2014

P. J. PARSONS / N. GONIS

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|                    |                      |                        |                     |
|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| HA = H. Amirav     | WSB = W. S. Barrett  | AB = A. Benaissa       | GB = G. Bevan       |
| RLC = R.-L. Chang  | DC = D. Colomo       | GBDA = G. B. D'Alessio | MdK = M. de Kreijl  |
| ME = M. Eager      | NG = N. Gonis        | MAH = M. A. Harder     | WBH = W. B. Henry   |
| FM = F. Maltomini  | MM = M. Mouniford    | DO = D. Obbink         | PJP = P. J. Parsons |
| LP = L. Prauscello | DWR = D. W. Rathbone | JDT = J. D. Thomas     | JY = J. Yum         |

## LIST OF PLATES

|                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| I. 5183, 5184, 5185, 5186 | V. 5189 →                  |
| II. 5187                  | VI. 5190 fr. 1, 5198, 5199 |
| III. 5188                 | VII. 5190 fr. 2-12, 5201   |
| IV. 5189 ↓                | VIII. 5200, 5205           |

## NUMBERS AND PLATES

|      |      |      |        |
|------|------|------|--------|
| 5183 | I    | 5190 | VI-VII |
| 5184 | I    | 5198 | VI     |
| 5185 | I    | 5199 | VI     |
| 5186 | I    | 5200 | VIII   |
| 5187 | II   | 5201 | VII    |
| 5188 | III  | 5205 | VIII   |
| 5189 | IV-V |      |        |

## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation; see *CE* 7 (1932) 262-9. It may be summarized as follows:

|                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| $\alpha\beta\gamma$       | The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read |
| ...                       | Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor  |
| [ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ]   | The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture                                |
| [...]                     | Approximately three letters are lost   |
| ()                        | Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol                              |
| [[ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ]] | The letters are deleted in the papyrus   |
| ' $\alpha\beta\gamma$ '   | The letters are added above the line   |
| < $\alpha\beta\gamma$ >   | The letters are added by the editor  |
| { $\alpha\beta\gamma$ }   | The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor                                    |

Bold arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Suppl. 9, 2001); for a more up-to-date version of the *Checklist*, see <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

### 5183. TRAGEDY (EURIPIDES, *ALEXANDROS?*)

125/25(c)

Fr. 1 4.7 × 11.4 cm

First century  
Plate I

On the back of two fragments of a roll or sheet, running across the fibres, remains of a text copied in a medium-sized upright semi-cursive hand not unlike the first hand of XLIX 3487 (65). Fr. 1 gives parts of fourteen lines with upper margin, 2.1 cm deep, and left-hand margin preserved to a width of 0.3 cm at the top, while fr. 2 gives eleven line-beginnings with a marginal speaker indication (4) and left-hand margin preserved to a width of 1.7 cm. Fr. 2 appears to belong to the same column as fr. 1: when its line-beginnings are placed on the same alignment as those of fr. 1, a vertical crack running down its top half falls on the same alignment as the left-hand edge of fr. 1, 1.1 cm to the right of the left-hand edge of fr. 2. There are further texts on the front. Fr. 1 gives the beginning of line 834 of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, η]γωω παροθε], copied in a gently sloping informal hand at about the level of line 1 of the text on the back. About 0.9 cm lower down, on the right-hand edge, there is the end of a greyish horizontal stroke, and slightly further down, on the left, a long double ascending oblique. About level with the lower end of the double oblique, there is a further trace on the right-hand edge, perhaps a triangular letter, and level with the upper end of the double oblique, apparently faint and indistinct traces of two letters. On the front of fr. 2, upside down in relation to the text on the back, remains of a document, possibly a land register. Line 1 gives ]Ϝ γ d η; lower down, there is a series of line-ends in grey ink, of which the second gives φορι (i.e. φορι-[μ]). The long double oblique on the front of fr. 1 will function as a divider within the register.

The text consists of tragic iambic trimeters, written as prose. Verse-beginnings in mid-line are indicated by hiatus (fr. 1.9) and anapaestic first foot (fr. 1.10). A short blank space at fr. 1.9 may be intended to mark the verse-boundary. A diaeresis on initial iota (fr. 1.1), due to the hand of the main text, is the only lection sign. The main hand is also responsible for corrections at fr. 1.1 and 2, and for the marginal speaker indication at fr. 2.4. The latter was copied as part of the text, its supralinear final letter extending just beyond the left-hand margin of the column. The generous spacing at the top of the column, with enlarged initial set off from what follows, may suggest that this was the beginning of an extract.

The copy is not the work of a professional scribe, but probably due to a student: the hand is irregular, and the base-line in the first two lines of the column slopes noticeably upwards from left to right, suggesting that the writer struggled at

first to keep to a straight base-line without the guidance of cross-fibres. There is ample evidence for the educational use of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, of which the opening of line 834 can be recognized on the other side: see R. Cribiore in Y. L. Too (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (2001) 241–59. Perhaps part of the scene beginning at *Phoenissae* 834 was to be copied as an exercise, and the incipit was to serve as a reminder of the passage to be used. In any case, this line is no doubt later than the document that occupies most of the front, and to be associated rather with the tragic text on the back that runs in the same direction. Verse texts thought to have been copied by students are sometimes written as prose, like 5183; here, as in other cases, the writing surface may not have been quite wide enough to accommodate a long trimeter as a single line. For other examples from the Roman period of verses copied as prose, see e.g. Trag. adesp. \*701a (*TrGF* V 1148); *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 12 with n. 57; R. Cribiore, *GRBS* 33 (1992) 259–61.

5183 does not appear to overlap with any known texts, but the use at fr. 1.2 of the verb *ἐξηνέμεω* may suggest that it is to be ascribed to Euripides. The appearance of Priam as a speaking character (named at fr. 2.4 *mg.*) would then appear to indicate that the text belongs to the *Alexandros*. Following the publication of the hypothesis (LII 3650 = *Alex.* test. iii in *TrGF*), this play can be reconstructed with a greater degree of confidence than previously, but many difficulties remain: see for example the edition with commentary by M. J. Cropp in C. Collard et al. (edd.), *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays* ii (2004) 35–87; Collard & Cropp (edd.), *Euripides: Fragments, Aegus–Melager* (2008) 33–75. If the attribution is correct, the use of *φεύγω* or *φεύγωμεν* by an unidentified speaker at fr. 1.3 may provide a clue to the position of the fragments within the play. There is no obvious way to accommodate *φεύγωμεν*, but *φεύγω* could be spoken by Paris taking refuge at the altar of Zeus Herkeios: cf. Hygin. *Fab.* 91.6 (*Alex.* test. iv b (2)) *ille in aram Iovis insistit*; LIMC I (1981) s.v. Alexandros nos. 20–42 (*Alex.* test. iv d), depictions in Etruscan art of Paris taking refuge at an altar. *τροφεή*] (fr. 1.8) could then be a reference to the stepfather whose evidence will save him. If this identification is correct, then one may deduce from fr. 2 that Priam had a speaking part in this scene. A further speaker (Hecuba or Deiphobus?) may also be detected in fr. 1: see commentary. Professor Parsons suggests that Deiphobus enters in pursuit of Paris, without noticing him (for a time); then Priam enters to restore order, and Paris and Deiphobus conduct the *agon* about slavery (cf. *Alex.* fr. 48–61) in his presence, but this is proved irrelevant when Cassandra arrives and identifies her brother.

## Fr. 1

|                           |                 |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| ἰ δου. <sup>π</sup> τρωτ[ | ἰδού, πτερωτ[   |
| ἐξηνημισεκα. [            | ἐξηνήμισε κα. [ |
| φειγαμενηδη[              | φείγω μὲν ἦδη [ |
| ...]ρμονοσκ[              | ...]ρ μόνος κ[  |

|    |                   |    |                    |
|----|-------------------|----|--------------------|
| 5  | ...]ανιουφρου[    | 5  | νε]ανίου Φρου[     |
|    | ...], δεπρε. [    |    | ...], δεπρε. [     |
|    | ...] αδουλο[      |    | ...], α δουλο[     |
|    | ...]αγτροφ. [.] [ |    | ...]αι τροφει[.] [ |
|    | ...]ετλη απαι[    |    | ...] ετλη απαι[    |
| 10 | ...] διεδυσε[     | 10 | ...] διεδυσε[      |
|    | ...] επατρασ. [   |    | ...] επατρασ. [    |
|    | ...] στετεκευ[    |    | ...] στετεκευ[     |
|    | ...]ατου[         |    | ...]ατου[          |
|    | ...]. [           |    | ...]. [            |

## Fr. 1

τ, a letter resembling N made as in 2, except that the final stroke is a steeply ascending oblique, considerably raised, perhaps a cancel stroke τϛ; a thin upright, and to its left, the left-hand end of a cross-bar at letter-top level 2 εϛ, generously spaced, with ξ placed on the same alignment as δ in the line above and ligatured to ε by an extended cross-stroke ω made out of ο, [ the beginning of a stroke ascending from left to right, perhaps a σ or μ 6 ]... above letter-top level, a short cross-stroke; a speck at mid-line level [ a tall stroke on the edge 7 ], the upper part of a steeply ascending oblique; 1 probable 8 ]εϛ, not ]η, whose second upright does not ascend above the level of the cross-bar [ ], a steeply descending oblique closely followed by a cross-stroke at mid-line level, perhaps ε; after a short gap, an upright trace, apparently joined from the left at the top, with ink to the right at the foot 9 ]ϛ, the foot and faint traces suggesting the upper part of the first stroke 10 ], the foot of an upright followed by the upper part of an upright joined from the left by a gently ascending stroke, perhaps N 11 ], a connecting stroke ascending from low in the line to join ε at the top of the first stroke, e.g. α, λ, η τ ligatured to the preceding α, with cross-bar extending only a little to the left of the upright; ϛ not excluded [ a trace at letter-top level on the edge 14 ], [ a flat stroke high in the line

## Fr. 2

|    |          |
|----|----------|
|    | τ[       |
|    | υ[       |
|    | κα[      |
|    | πρωτ[    |
| 5  | κα[      |
|    | διγρ[    |
|    | κακ. [   |
|    | ητις[    |
|    | εφαι[    |
| 10 | και [    |
|    | ] π... [ |

Fr. 2

4 . [ , specks 5 Additional ink above and to the left of  $\epsilon$  and below  $\alpha$ , perhaps casual  
7 [ , the edge of the left-hand arc of a circle 11 . . . [ , the top of an upright; confused traces  
on the edge

Fr. 1

*Metre.* Line-beginning and verse-beginning coincide in lines 1-3, while in lines 9 and 10 a verse begins in mid-line. There is no clear indication elsewhere that a verse began in mid-line, but the possibility is to be remembered. Since trimeters vary in length, there is no particular reason to assume that the verse-beginning moved progressively further to the right; indeed the verse-beginning in line 10 is further to the left than that in line 9.

*Speakers.* The number of speakers is unknown. If  $\delta\epsilon\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\delta\epsilon\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (10) has the same subject as  $\phi\epsilon\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (3), the change of person indicates a change of speaker, but the point at which it occurred cannot be determined, and the identity of the new speaker is unclear. If the speaker of lines 1-3 is Paris, then besides Priam, named as a speaker at fr. 2.4 mg., Hecuba and Deiphobus may be considered as possible speakers at line 10. Professor Parsons suggests that the new speaker is already to be recognized at line 5: Deiphobus (7) does not know who Paris is, except that he is a young man (5) and looks like (6 n.) a slave (7), which makes it all the worse that he has dared (6) to (shame us?) ah.

1  $\delta\theta\upsilon\varsigma$  is likely to be the independent exclamation  $\delta\theta\upsilon$  rather than the verbal  $\delta\theta\upsilon\omega$ : see e.g. Bond on *Hyp.* fr. 752c.1 (p. 57) and on *Hec.* 867.

*περρωτ[*. Neither 'winged' nor 'feathered' seems promising in this context, unless used figuratively: for *περρωτ[* with  $\phi\epsilon\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (3), Professor Parsons compares Eur. *Hec.* 628  $\text{οὐ γὰρ περρωτὴς οὐδὲ φεθύλιος φιλῶς}$ . Otherwise, perhaps the word is used in the metaphorical sense 'idle, fleeting', like  $\phi\epsilon\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  elsewhere in Euripides (*IT* 571  $\text{πτηρῶν ἀνέμων}$ , fr. 271.1  $\text{πτηρὸς δῖα κέκασε, ἃ τέκνον, τὰς ἐπιπρόδους}$  and *περρωτὸς* in Bacchylides (3.75  $\text{πτηρῶσσι δ' ἐπιπρόδουσι ἡμῶν ἄνθρωποι}$ ; cf. 2.1).  
2  $\epsilon\zeta\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\varsigma$ . Eur. *Andr.* 938  $\epsilon\zeta\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\theta\eta\iota\mu\alpha\iota\ \mu\omega\rho\iota\alpha\ \text{καὶ}\ \text{Ἡλ.}\ 302\ \epsilon\zeta\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omega\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\ \text{Μαξένδρου}\ \lambda\epsilon\chi\eta\eta$  are the only poetic examples of this verb. Either 'puffed (me) up' or 'turned (my victories) to thin air' may be suitable if the speaker is Paris.

3  $\phi\epsilon\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\nu$  rather than  $\phi\epsilon\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ : see intro.

4 Professor Parsons suggests  $\delta\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , 'a man alone and outnumbered', of Paris taking refuge at the altar. Otherwise, perhaps  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  preceded by  $\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  or another case of that pronoun.  $\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\omega\varsigma$  does not seem to lead anywhere.

5 Presumably  $\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$  (referring to Paris himself?) followed by a case of  $\Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$ .  $\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$   $\Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$  is one possibility, and Professor Parsons notes that the specification of the young man's nationality could be justified if there were also foreigners among the contestants, as reported by Hygin. *Fab.* 273.12 (*Alex.* test. iv b (end)). The two examples of this word preserved in the fragments of the play are in the plural (fr. 62a.14, 62d.22).

If this is the beginning of a trimeter, then medial caesura may have followed: but this would be incompatible with the ascription of the fragment to Euripides (Diggle, *CR* 34 (1984) 67 = *Euripides* 314). Otherwise a disyllabic beginning  $\Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$  will have been followed by a monosyllabic, with or without elision. In that case, either  $\Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$  (or another disyllabic form) is the first word of a sentence, followed by a connecting particle; or  $\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$   $\Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$  (or another disyllabic form) begins the sentence and is followed by a connecting particle in third place (for  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$  and  $\delta\epsilon$  so placed, cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles* 96, 187-8; Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 271; Diggle, *PCPS* 15 (1969) 54 = *Euripides* 26). But  $\Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$  and  $\Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$  are not excluded. Alternatively, if  $\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$  ends a trimeter, Professor Parsons suggests e.g.  $\Phi\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$   $\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$   $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ .

6 The first trace may belong to a supralinear letter: cf. 1.

$\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ . [ Perhaps  $\delta\epsilon$   $\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi$  ( $\beta\omega$ ). The word is used at *Alex.* fr. 62d.54, probably with reference

to Priam: see Cropp's note. Since Priam is named as a speaker at fr. 2.4 mg., it may well refer to him here. Otherwise, the reference may be to Paris' foster-father (cf. 8), but hardly to the chorus-leader. Professor Parsons suggests  $\epsilon\lambda\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\sigma\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi$  ('look like'); cf. above on 'Speakers'.

7  $\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , unless it belongs to a generalization, may be said with reference to Paris. Alternatively, it may refer to his foster-father, who appears to be mentioned in the next line.

8  $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  [ . Apparently a reference to Paris' foster-father in some case.  $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  [ and  $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  both seem possible, but neither the space after  $\epsilon$  nor the traces at the end of the line seem to suit upsalon. The foster-father arrives near the end of the play and reveals the truth concerning Paris' parentage (test. iii.30-32).

9 [  $\epsilon\tau\lambda\eta\ \alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . The hiatus, if sound, indicates that  $\epsilon\tau\lambda\eta$  is the end of a verse. The next line also appears to give the end of one verse and the beginning of the next, with the boundary coming a little further to the left, confirming that the text is set out as prose. See intro.

$\epsilon\tau\lambda\eta$ . As either speaker nor subject is known, it is not possible to choose between 'dared' and 'endured'.

$\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ :  $\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  [ , or possibly  $\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  [ - with unmarked elision.

10  $\delta\epsilon\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  appears to be the beginning of a trimeter. The preceding traces seem likely to be the remains of a nu; and so if a trimeter began at the start of the line,  $\delta\epsilon\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , being preceded by a long syllable, would constitute the second foot. But Euripides only allows anapaestic second feet in the case of proper names that would otherwise be intractable (Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* 47-8). The division is uncertain. The stigmatic aorist does not seem to be attested before Phthius, and a causative does not seem likely in any case, but  $\delta\epsilon\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\delta\epsilon\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  are both possible. Perhaps the subject is Paris, who has slipped away and taken refuge at the altar. Austin-Olson on *Ar. Th.* 711-12 note that the verb is found in comedy and prose but not in serious poetry; but there is no reason to doubt it here: the simplex and other compounds are attested in tragedy.

11  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  suggested by Professor Parsons, could give a reference to the hunt for Paris (cf. *Alex.* fr. 62d.22, 31), who has now eluded (10) his pursuer or pursuers. Otherwise,  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\alpha\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

12  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  - rather than  $\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  -. Number and reference are unknown.

Fr. 2

Line-beginnings apparently belonging to the same column as fr. 1: see intro. In a rough transcription of the two fragments by A. S. Hunt, line 1 is placed at the level of fr. 1.4, with fr. 2.2 contributing the first letter of fr. 1.5  $\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ ; but as Dr Coles notes, this does not appear to be the correct arrangement.

4 mg. *Προλαίω*. See intro.

6  $\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  [ . If the word begins a trimeter, e.g.  $\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  [vc-, or perhaps  $\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  [em- or  $\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  [ek-, though neither of these is found in Euripides; or  $\delta\epsilon$  '  $\delta\epsilon$  ' [ . Otherwise  $\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  [eyk- may be added to the possibilities.

9  $\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha$  (the slaughter planned for Paris?), etc.

10 Probably  $\kappa\alpha\lambda$  [ in view of the blank space.

11 The line projects into the left-hand margin by the width of one letter. It is not clear what signification if any is to be attached to this.



## 5184. TRAGEDY

46.5B.51/E(6-7)b

9 × 8.9 cm

Third century  
Plat I

On the back of a fragment of a roll, running across the fibres, line-ends from one column and line-beginnings from the next, with lower margin preserved to a depth of 2.4 cm (probably the full original depth), to judge by the preserved straight edge. On the front, a document of uncertain character in a second-century hand (6-8 *καὶ διὰ λόγου Μηθαρίου κω.* [ ] *γίνεται κῆρα, vac.* | *καὶ ἐξ ταύτων ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς ΚΑ*), with a lower margin (corresponding to the lower margin on the back) preserved only to a depth of 0.5 cm: perhaps the roll was, as often, cut down before the back was reused. Five lines of the literary text and the interlinear space under the fifth occupy an area 3 cm high. The intercolumnium is about 1.5 cm wide at its narrowest, but at the level of ii 9 nearly its full width is occupied by a speaker indication. The small sloping cursive hand suggests a private copy. It may be compared to the hands of P. Lips. II 152 (Pl. xxix), dated to 250, and P. Ups. Frid 6 (Pl. 6), dated to 273; the hexameters of LXXVII 5106 (Pl. I) show a similar hand used for literature. The cap of sigma (i 3, 6, 8) and the tail of alpha (i 9) are extended into the intercolumnium at line-end. There are no lection signs except diacresis on initial iota (ii 6), due to the hand of the main text, as is the single speaker indication (ii 9). On the front, approximately 1.7 cm to the right of the left-hand side, the ragged edge of a *kollesis* can be seen.

The text of col. ii begins with a sequence of marching anapaests (3-8), no doubt to be assigned to the chorus-leader. They appear to have been arranged not in the expected dimeters but in longer lines (3-8 n.). There follows an iambic trimeter (9), standing on the same alignment, the speaker of which is identified by a marginal indication as Eteocles. The chorus-leader refers to hated exiles (4), perhaps with reference to Polynices, and names Eteocles (5), before turning to address him as 'child' (6) and asking him to come and tell them the contents of Apollo's oracle (7-8). Eteocles states that a tablet will reveal the information requested (9): presumably the oracle was recorded on it. We can only guess what the oracle may have been: perhaps it is to be identified with that mentioned at Soph. OC 395-417, according to which the welfare of the Thebans depends on their recalling Oedipus and ensuring that he is buried near the city.

The author of the fragment cannot be determined, but it seems likely that he is to be placed later than the fifth century: see ii 7 n. The wording of ii 9 appears to be drawn from Euripides: see n. Plosive and liquid lengthen a short final syllable at ii 5 βαρὺ δρ[ ], as expected in post-classical tragedy (M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (1982) 160 with n. 74). For other anonymous treatments of the myth in tragedy, see Trag. adesp. 458, 665 (PSI XIII 1303).

Col. i Col. ii

|   |      |                            |  |
|---|------|----------------------------|--|
|   | ].   |                            |  |
|   | ]c   |                            |  |
|   | ]f   | .....]ρομ...ταχ.[          | .....]ρομ...ταχ.[                        |
|   | ]l   | στῆνοι[ ]ε φυγόντες απ.[   | στῆνοι[ ]ε φυγόντες απ.[                 |
| s | ] ]  | εἰσεκλεαπαίδαβαρὺδρ[       | Ἐτεοκλέα παῖδα βαρὺ δρ[                  |
|   | ]..f | τεκνον[ ]επε[ ].. ]ρονικ[  | τέκνον. [ ]επε[ ].. ]ρονικ[              |
|   | ] ]  | ποταπὸν λόγῳ θεὸς Ἀπόλλ[ωv | ποταπὸν λόγῳ θεὸς Ἀπόλλ[ωv               |
|   | ] ]  | ωρχηρμέδοκαβαρουν[         | ὦ χρχημέ, δοκά, βαρὺ στῆν[εν             |
|   | ] ]a | εἰσεκλεαπαῖδα βαρὺδρ[      | Ἐτεοκλέ[ ]ε αυτῆ] φράσει σοι δέλοτο αυτ[ |

Col. i

i ], abraded, perhaps a tall upright 2 ], abraded 3 ], a high trace 4 ],.. abraded traces, the first suggesting the right-hand arc of a circle, the second a short upright joined at the top from the left by an ascending oblique 6 ],.. a short horizontal trace at letter-top level, abraded below; an upright 9 ], abraded

Col. ii

3 ],.. a low trace; abraded traces including an upright; parts of a circle or loop 4 ], abraded 4 ], perhaps the lower left-hand corner of a or o 6 ], abraded low traces with further specks at mid-line level, perhaps 1 ], the foot of a descender; above, a steeply descending oblique joined from the left near the top by an ascending oblique 8 ], perhaps r joined to an upright with damaged surface to the right, rather than π[ 9 9 ], part of an upright in a space suiting η 4 ], a low loop in a narrow space

'... quick (?) ... hated ... having fled ... Eteocles, child ... grievous ... do (?) ...

'Child, ... come ... What kind of oracle ... god Apollo ... O oracle, I expect, grievous ...

lin (?) ...

'ETEOKLES The tablet will tell you by itself in place of ...'

Col. ii

4 στῆνοι [ ]ε φυγόντες may refer to the exiled Polynices: cf. Soph. OC 1173 παῖς οὐμῶς, ἀναξ, στῆνοῖς (Oedipus of Polynices). [δ]α or [γ]ε would be acceptable, but probably not [τ]ε, as we should have expected the left-hand end of the cross-bar to be visible where blank surface is preserved to the right of i. Professor Parsons proposes instead [c]ε, suggesting that one of Eteocles' parents was present (cf. 5 παῖδα), for example Oedipus, deserted by his hostile sons, or by the Thebans.

At the end, e.g. ἀπ[ ]επ[ ]εκαῖς (not a known tragic form in this case, but cf. on 7); or perhaps ἀπε[ ]ν[ ]εκαῖς, with catalexis, ἀπαιτῶν (cf. Eur. Ph. 1392 Πολυκόντες δ' ἀπῆλθεν δορί; for the construction, e.g. Xen. Anab. 2.6.9 οὐρανὸν στῆνος φη; Pind. Nem. 10.20 ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ κόρος ἀνθρώπων βαρὺ ἀντάσαι); or e.g. ἀπ[ ]ερε, again with catalexis. Professor Parsons suggests ἀπ[ ]ερε, but it is not clear that the final trace can represent η. If there was catalexis, it will be necessary to suppose that the dimeter following the paroemiac was written on the same line (cf. 3-8 n. below), since Ἐτεοκλέα παῖδα (5) is not likely to be the beginning of a sentence. But catalexis is more likely at the end of 5: see n.

5 Ἐτεοκλέα has a short alpha for the sake of the metre, like ἐοκλέα (agreeing with θρόνον) at

Soph. *OT* 161 (lyr). The accusative singular is not otherwise attested in tragedy except in iambic trimeters, where the long alpha is unproblematic: Ἐρεοκλῆς is found in an epigram, *Isid. AP* 7.532.1 (*Gow-Pag.* *Gott.* 3987).

παῖος: cf. perhaps Eur. *Ph.* 1587 Ἐρεοκλέης παῖς εὐς. See also 4 n.  
 ἔβη: perhaps part of ἔβην. No suitable compound beginning βαρυδρ- is available. (At *Isch.* *B* 245 βαρυδρῆμον μεγαλοφῶνον, βαρυδρ- is restored.)

Catalexis seems probable at the end of the line, with the vocative at the start of line 6 introducing a new sentence. If the line was a dimeter, only the end of the final syllable is lost, but to judge by 7-8, more may be missing on the right: see 3-8 n. below.

6 εἰνονος. Etocles, spoken of in the previous line, comes into view and is addressed. Cf. *Aesch. Sept.* 686 (to Etocles) shows that this form of address need not imply an older speaker (cf. Hutchinson's note), but that is the natural assumption here, where the speaker is not attempting to restrain Eteocles from youthful folly (cf. perhaps Eur. *Alc.* 674; M. Lloyd, *JHS* 128 (2008) 190) but merely requesting information. On the other hand, a later writer may have taken this vocative over without giving much thought to its implications.

[πεε, [...], γρον ιε]. At the end, perhaps ἐν ἰε[ο] μέλαθρον: one might have expected the second syllable of μέλαθρον to scan long (cf. 5), but the author need not have been consistent in this respect. Before it, ἔπει[χ] would suit the space, but [ε] is far from easy. The space before *ene* seems probably too narrow to accommodate a letter.

7 ποταμόν. Here apparently 'Of what kind?' rather than 'From what country?'. The latter is the only sense reliably attested for tragedy, while the former seems to be a later development: see Arnott on *Alex. fr.* 94.1; Olson on *Ar. Ach.* 767-8. If this were a fifth-century tragedy, we would be justified in substituting ποδάσιον, but this poet may well have used the later spelling: see Arnott for discussion.

λόγιον. The only tragic instance is at Eur. *Hek.* 405, a line rightly deleted by Wilamowitz: see Wikkins' note, and Diggle, *PCPS* 28 (1982) 59 = *Euripides* 223, who observes that it is a word 'not elsewhere found in tragedy or high poetry but common in Aristophanes and prose'. Here it seems to have the same reference as χρησμός (8). Neil on *Ar. Eq.* 120, attempting to distinguish the uses of the two words, states that he knows 'of no case where λόγιον means an oracle just delivered, except perhaps Lucian *Jap. Imp.* 31', but it seems likely that the present line is such a case.

θεός Ἀπόλλων. The long alpha, familiar in the oblique cases in epic, is not otherwise attested in the nominative, and not found at all elsewhere in tragedy. The phrase θεός Ἀπόλλων does not seem to occur elsewhere in poetry in any case.

8 ὃ χρησμός. Cf. Soph. *OT* 151 ὃ ἄνδρ' ἀδωντικὸς φάτι; *Ar. Eq.* 120 ὃ (ὃ) λόγια.

At the end, Professor Parsons suggests e.g. βαρὸς ἐνυχθέντων ἄνεμων φέρει μελόειον. If the final trace represents π[ι], βαρὸς ἐνυχθέντων may be considered, as in Theoc. 22.204 (of the dying Lynceus) ἐπὶ δ' ἄρα οἱ βλεφάρων βαρὸς ἔβραμεν ὄππος, 24.47 θύασις . . . ὄππος βαρὸν ἐφευάσαντα. But this phrase does not seem to suit the context.

3-8 We expect anapaestic runs to be set out as dimeters (cf. e.g. West, *BICS* 24 (1977) 89; *Greek Metre* 95), but here it seems necessary to assume longer lines. If each line contained not one but two dimeters, there will be room in line 7 for a finite verb with θεός Ἀπόλλων as its subject and ποταμόν λόγιον as its object, and in line 8 for the remainder of the sentence (cf. the suggestion in the previous note). The layout assumed, with two anapaestic dimeters to a line, is paralleled in Byzantine manuscripts, but not in the Roman period; but a writer wishing to avoid wasting space in an informal copy may have used it. Cf. the anapaests set out as prose following iambic trimeters set out as verse in the first-century papyrus of *Trag. adesp.* 644.20-49 (MP<sup>3</sup> 7170).

Nothing can be reliably concluded from the absence of indentation. It is true that runs of anapaests set out as dimeters are usually indented in relation to iambic trimeters in copies assigned to the

Roman period: cf. *XIV 3216* (*Trag. adesp.* 654), and for Euripides, *P. Ryl.* III 482, perhaps *Τελέφους* (fr. \*727b); VI 852 fr. 1 iv, *Hypsigyle* (fr. 752b); XXXIV 2685 fr. 1 ii, *Phrixus* (fr. 822); so too in the late (vi/vii) P. De Langhe, p. 7 (MP<sup>3</sup> 382), *Andromache*, though in BKT V 2 88-96 fol. 1' (vi), *Hippolytus*, both stand on the same alignment. But LXXVIII 5131 (*Eur. Ion.*), assigned to the third century, appears to have anapaestic dimeters and iambic trimeters beginning on the same alignment, though it is not quite certain that the anapaestic lines are all dimeters, and on metrical grounds alone one might have preferred to suppose that the last (7) was a dimeter followed by a paromoiac (cf. 5131 ii 3-7 n.). In any case, it may seem unsafe to draw any conclusion concerning an informal copy such as this on the basis of the practice observed in formal manuscripts. See in general L. Savignago, *Eiusthesis* (2008).

9 αὐτῆ φράσει: οὐ δέλοτος. Cf. Eur. *IT* 760-63 τάντοια κάλυπταρμέν' ἐν δέλοτος πτυχῆσι | λόγου φράσει σοι . . . | . . . ἦν μὲν ἐκείνοισι γραφήν, | αὐτῆ φράσει στυγὰς πάγυραρμένα. Etocles or one of his retainers perhaps brought the tablet with him. If so, to judge by this line, it may have been passed to the chorus-leader at this point, but other possibilities can be imagined. The oracle will presumably have been read out in due course, but perhaps not immediately: the poet may have preferred to hold the tension by presenting first the reaction of the (silent) reader. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 856ff. (*Phaedra's* tablet); *Ar. Eq.* 115ff. (oracles). For the written oracle, cf. e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 46-7, 157-8, 1166-7; *Ar. Al.* 392 ( *χρησμός*); *Ἐν ἑσπῶ σαρὰ πηλολλῶσιος ἀεργαρόβωμον*; *Hdt.* 1.47-8, 7.142.1, 8.135; J. Dillery in S. I. Johnston, P. T. Struck (eds.), *Metakl* (2005) 215-28, 225-6; P. E. Easterling, *JHS* 105 (1984) 4 (on anachronistic references to writing in tragedy).

αὐτῆ, as in the line of Euripides, seems the likeliest interpretation of the opening; the tablet by itself will convey the oracle, saving Etocles the trouble. But αὐτῆ, though less pointed, is not ruled out.

ἐστ[ι](-), if it is the preposition, may have been followed by a word for 'speech' (*ἀθήγγυματος*?), indicating that Etocles will not himself give a report, or e.g. *τοῦ θεοῦ*. Otherwise, it may be the beginning of a compound adjective, but I have not found anything suitable. Professor Parsons suggests e.g. *ἐν τ[ι] προμύσει* (if this is a late composition).

W. B. HENRY

### 5185. OLD COMEDY

88/424(a)

4.1 x 6.7 cm

Second/third century  
 Plate I

A fragment broken off on all sides. The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

The hand, a small upright specimen of the 'Severe Style', may be assigned to the late second or early third century. Though somewhat smaller in size, it is very similar to that of XXXVII 2806 (Pl. II), a papyrus of Old Comedy assigned to the same period (*Com. adesp.* 1109 KA), for which W. B. Henry, *ZPE* 187 (2013) 52, has argued that it comes from the same roll as VI 863 (*Eup. fr.* \*101 KA). Individual letter shapes are generally the same as those of 2806; note in particular λ, θ, κ, μ, ζ, the characteristic leftward curve of the foot of γ in 5185 5 and 2806 1 4, and the flat-based ο. Only η is generally different in 2806 (the diagonal meets the right-hand base above the foot, though not at fr. 1 i 5 αζωον). Another slight difference from 2806 is the upright stance of the script in 5185, whereas 2806 displays

a slight rightward inclination. The interlinear space is the same in both papyri. If not fragments of the same roll (the colour is different, but this may as often be due to different find-spots), it is likely that the same scribe was responsible for both texts. Lobel was inclined to propose a third-century date for 2806, but a cursive marginal addition led him to consider the second. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* 61, speaks of a second-century hand.

A dicolon at 7, probably due to the hand of the main text, indicates a change of speaker. There are two cases of elision, both made tacitly (5). Iota adscript is employed once (12).

The fragment apparently preserves the ends of iambic trimeters. Line 3 rules out catalectic tetrameters (but allows the very rare acatalectic form; see West, *Greek Metre* 93). Trochaic tetrameters cannot be excluded, but are less likely, since we should have to admit several metrical rarities within four verses: note the substitution for two shorts of what would be the anapests of the third metron in 4 and 6 (see West, *Greek Metre* 92).

The diction (see 10 n.) points to Old Comedy, which tallies with the likely ascription of 5185 with 2806 (and 863). The fragmentary nature of the piece does not allow any glimpse of the action other than that there is a dialogue, probably involving only two persons, carried on in animated language.

1 ], [
   
 ], ουξ[ ε4 ]εμε[
   
 ], ιστνηρησοδου[
   
 ], μιρωταε [
   
 5 ], τενηαυθησ[
   
 ], λωδιετραε[
   
 ], ανομοι: [
   
 ]εαε, ει, [
   
 ]οτεσελ, [
   
 10 ]θιαμεμη[
   
 ], ε... κε, [
   
 ], ωλοι, [

1 ], [ , upright descending well below the line     α ], [ , lower left-hand arc of a circle, as of right-hand side of λ or tail of λ or λ     ε[ , short upright joining descending oblique at mid-line level     3 ], [ , a trace on the line and another below: if there was abrasion, this could belong to a descender such as that of ρ, but in that case the circlet of ρ would have touched the next letter     4 ], [ , right-hand curve, probably of ω     5 ], [ , trace at one-third height, probably of descending oblique     8 ε, [ , upright descending below the line     [ , left-hand part of ω rather

than c     9 . . . ], one or two letters: foot of slanting upright followed by letter foot, perhaps of upright     11 . . . . . , first four indeterminate, then high curved trace at upper right, probably ο     [ , high trace, start of short riser     12 ] , thickish trace     [ , low trace, perhaps foot of rising oblique, followed by top of descending oblique (λ, α, or λ)

3 ], ιστνη ρης δδοφ. If we read rho at the start, the first word may be e.g. δ[ε]ρην, μακα[ε]ιετην, etc., and there would be a breach of Porson's law. But the reading is doubtful: see the palaeographical note.

4 ε] seems certain. Then *μισρότατε*: this superlative is a common term of abuse in Aristophanes, always at verse-end (*Ach.* 182, 557; *Pax* 183, *An.* 1209, *Lys.* 989, *Ran.* 466, etc.). In *Pax* 183, *An.* 1209, and *Ran.* 466, it is addressed to a person who has just approached a place where his presence is unwelcome. The circumstances here may be similar to those in *Pax* and *Ran.* The element of place, not incompatible with the idea of the unwelcome newcomer, figures prominently in this fragment: cf. ρης δδοφ (3), δτραωθ' (5), ε[ε]ωφί (8). Cf. *Pax* 184 ποίε δδοφ' δσθ[ο]θε, δ μιμνη μισρότατε. The superlative is also found in Antiph. fr. 157.9 and Men. *Ath.* 313. The latter comes close to the same usage: δ (ο παρ) μισρότατος, of the absent Smikrines. But so far as our evidence goes, the vocative occurs in comedy only in Aristophanes.

5 ]α' δτραωθ' ρεθ[α, ρεθ[ε]μην, ρεθ[ε]μην, etc. Perhaps an adverb in ]αωκ or -]α' δ[ε, followed by an acroist form of διαπράτω or διαπράττωμαι (the latter is more common), such as διαπράτ[ε]μην, etc. E.g., ού καλ[ώ]ς διαπράτ[ε]τε. Dr Henry suggests δεφέ]λας; cf. Antipho 5.81, Xen. *Symp.* 2.11.

7 =α] άνομοι would satisfy the metre and suit the context as conveying abuse (άδομοι, otherwise unattested in Comedy, would produce a split resolution, while νόμοι would be more difficult to place in the context). Metre allows a vocative preceded by the interjection δ, but this form of address does not occur anywhere else in comedy. An alternative would be άγορανόμοι (or άγορανόμοι); cf. *Ar. Ach.* 824 (WBF).

8 ε[ε]ωφί]ν, with the word-ending before that likely to belong to a second person singular aorist, e.g. ε[ε]θα]καε ε[ε]ωφί]ν, or ε[ε]ωφ]ν, with an acroist participle before.

9 Apparently not ελγ[ή]δωρα/-δρεε ωέ αιε, since this would introduce a problematic sixth-foot anapaest (see Dover on *Ran.* 1203).

10 ]θιαμεμη] can be articulated in various ways, but there is an item of comic vocabulary that would fit the line-end exactly: διαμεμή]μικ- (see also next note). The verb, found in comedy only at *Ar. An.* 669, 706, and 1254, is a vulgar term for sexual congress; see J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (1991) 153, and Dunbar on *An.* 668. What part this activity played in the context is unclear. The perfect διαμεμή]μικα (or the like) would denote a completed sexual act; it is a matter of speculation whether this had anything to do with the angry exchange.

11 Not ούε[ε]τ[ε]ι: the trace on the edge is too high to be the tip of the horizontal of tau. This may be an accent or the foot of the descender of rho from the previous line; in which case read διαμεμη]μ[ικ]- in 10.

12 Probably ] ωι λαδ[ε], with a form of λαδορα. The verb, common in Aristophanes, suits the context; cf. 4 and perhaps 7.

## 5186. NEW COMEDY

112/21(b)

3.9 x 6.4 cm

Second/third century  
Plate I

A fragment broken on all sides. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is blank.

Dicola mark changes of speaker at 3, 7, 9. A rough breathing (Turner's form 1: *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11) signals the aspiration produced by the crasis at 2. There is an aspirating (8), probably marking elision, and high (1 and 5) and low points (6), serving as punctuation. All lectional signs except perhaps for the high point at 5 are due to the original hand.

The fragment contains what seems to be a dialogue. Assuming that these are iambic trimeters, we seem to have the middle parts of lines. What we have at 2 can only be the beginning of the second metron.

5186 is in the same hand and probably from the same roll as XXII 2329 (Com. adesp. 1091 KA), though their relative position cannot be determined. I owe the identification to Dr Henry, who points out that it shares an uncommon character name, Mixias (3), with XV 1824 (Com. adesp. 1045 KA), but there are no other grounds for associating it with that text. T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Menander* (1974) 201, tentatively assigned 2329 to Menander's *Phasma*, but the suggestion has not been generally accepted; see e.g. W. G. Arnott (ed.), *Menander* iii (2000) 371.

|    |                     |                      |
|----|---------------------|----------------------|
|    | [. . .]ερενε . . χ[ | [. . .]ερενε ε . εχ[ |
|    | ]ἀνθρωποσσι[        | ] ἀνθρωποσ σσι[      |
|    | ]χιμεία: τιφ[       | ]χι Μεία: τι φ[      |
|    | ]ωντιγγε[           | ]ωντιγγε[            |
| 5  | ]πνταμα·τη[         | 5 ε]πι τὰμά·τη[      |
|    | ]ον·ουκαναφ[        | ]ον· οὐκ ἀναφ[       |
|    | ]ροικ:τηρεμ[        | ]ροικ: τῆν ε]μ[      |
|    | ]κ'αναξιον·[        | ]κ' ἀνάξιον·[        |
|    | ] . . . ενστι·[     | ] . . . ον εστι·[    |
| 10 | ]ωντραπ[            | 10 ]ωντραπ[          |
|    | ]δεμου[             | ]δεμου[              |

1 ] . . ., minimal low speck ε . . , base horizontal joining foot of ascending oblique at left and sloping down at right (α rather than λ); lower part of ε, c 4 ], top of upright 5 ], upper part of curved letter, c rather than ε 8 ], trace at one-third height, probably foot of ascending oblique 9 ] . . ., high speck, then probably an apex; high trace, possibly top of oblique; upper

right-hand corner of x or κ [ , on damaged surface, traces resembling left-hand part of small circle and dot above 10 ] . . , right-hand tip of high horizontal (a descending oblique is visible in the interlinear space below, but its purpose is unclear)

1 -]ερενε. Of the various possible verbs, only ἡμρενε seems likely to occur outside high poetry (Thphr. *HP* 9.82 ὄναρ ἀμάρεουσ (v.l. ἀμρεθᾶσι) πὸν κερπὸν). If this is paratragedy, ἐπ]ερενε and ἐκ]ερενε may also be considered.

3 ]χι Μεία or Μείη. Μείη[ is found as a speaker name in New Comedy in XV 1824 = Com. adesp. 1045.3, where Kassel–Austin refer to *El. gen.* A B s. v. Μεία[ (*El. magn.* p. 588.33). The name Μείη[ is attested three or four times in fifth- and fourth-century Athens; see *LGPN* II s.v. The spelling with iota might be phonetic or part of the old and general confusion over the spelling of μ(ε)γγουμ and related words. Before that, να]χ[ or ο]χ]χ[.

τ]ι φ]ε is tempting. This type of question, employed mostly on its own and usually coinciding with change of speaker, is frequent in both Tragedy and Comedy. τ]ι φ]ηται is another, although less well-parallelled, option; τ]ι φ]αίρεται would also scan.

4 ]ωντιγγε[. There are several possibilities: ]ων τ]ι and then ἦ γε ε]φ, ἦ γεφ[ ἦ γεφ[ ἦε[ε], etc. The absence of punctuation would not favour articulating ]ων τ]ι c ἦ γεφ[. etc. μ[ is unlikely in this hand.

5 ε]πι τὰμά (or with crasis or prodelision: ἦ ]π]ι, κδ]π], etc.). Cf. *Ar. Ecol.* 1001 ἐπι τὰμά κρῶματα.

6 ]ον·ουκαναφ[. For the low stop, cf. 2329 23 ]πν·ουδερ[ (stop omitted by Kassel–Austin, Com. adesp. 1091).

οὐκ ἀνάξιον or οὐκ ἂν ἀξ[ (= ἀναξ[) is suggested by 8. For the litotes cf. *Men. Ath.* 290 οὐδὲν ποσῶς ἀπορηθεὶς οὐδ' ἀνάξιον; *Eur. Hphr.* fr. 757.883 οὐκ ἀνάξιον γὰρ ε]λ.

7 ἐπ]οικ ε.ε. Then τῆν ε]μ[η]ν is likely but not certain.

8 ]κ'. The apostrophe probably signals elision. In view of οὐκ in 6, οὐ]κ' might be considered (see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11), but the scribe does not use the apostrophe in such cases elsewhere (here in 6; 2329 2, 6).

9 ε.ε. ἀμ]αχῶν εστι (WBH).

10 ]πν or ]πνν. Then τραπ[ suggests τραπ[ε]τ-, or a middle or passive form of τρῆμα.

11 ε.ε. ] δέ μου, ] δ' ἐμοῦ or the like.

N. GONIS

## 5187–5189. 'MIMES'

'Mimoi' as performers figure regularly in festival programmes; see XXXIV 2707 and 5215–18 below. 'Mimes' as texts have also turned up among the papyri; the classification is editorial, and covers a fair variety of mini-dramas, some monologues, some plays. Such performances, however ill-defined the genre, were wide-spread in the Greek and Roman world, but few actual texts survive, partly no doubt because they had no place in the literary canon, partly because such pieces tended to be fugitive and sketches for improvisation.

Relevant papyri are collected in I. C. Cunningham, *Herodas Mimiambi* (Teubner, 1987) 36–61; add now LIII 3700 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1745.01), P. Col. inv. 546A (*ZPE* 145 (2003) 60–66; MP<sup>3</sup> 2436.02), P. Yale II 111 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2436.01), BKT X 13 (MP<sup>3</sup>

2436.001). Doubtfully assigned to the genre: P. Mich. inv. 3793 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2629.1), O. Florida inv. 21 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2118.01), P. Köln VI 245 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1965.41), and IXX 4762 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2630.01) as interpreted by M. L. West, *ZPE* 175 (2010) 33–40.

Of the new pieces published here, 5187 offers a metrical monologue, the lament of a woman in distress, similar to the famous *Fragmentum Gryffellianum*. 5188 contains drama, part at least in trochaic tetrameters, the characters identified by numerals and abbreviations similar to those in the *Charition Mime* (III 413). Both these are copied on the back of used papyrus. 5189, a codex-leaf, bears an even stronger likeness to *Charition*, in layout and vacuous vulgarity, but seems to be not a script, but a kind of narrative story-board, which specifies at length the movements of the characters and sometimes quotes their words. 5187 and 5188 date from the first/second century; 5189 shows the genre continuing in the sixth century, roughly contemporary with the acting career of the Empress Theodora (Procop. *Sec. Hist.* 9.13–14). If we adopt Plutarch's classification (*Qui. Cona* 7.8 = *Mor.* 712D–F), 5188 would count as *ὑπόθεσις* (drama), 5189 among the *παίγνια πολλῆς γέμουρα βυμολοχίας καὶ σπερμολογίας*.

For the Mime in general, see H. Reich, *Der Mimus* (1903); H. Wiemken, *Der griechische Mimus* (1972); E. Fertil, *Von Musen, Mimiinnen und leichten Mädchen* (2005); R. Webb, *Demons and Dancers* (2008); G. Tedeschi, *Intrattenimenti e spettacoli nell'Egitto ellenistico-romano* (2011). The *Fragmentum Gryffellianum*, now P. Dryton 50, has been re-edited with commentary by E. Esposito (2005), *Charition* (413) by S. Santelia (1991), *Charition* and *Moicheutria* by M. Andreassi (2001). For the fragments of Roman mime, see M. Bonaria, *Romani mimi* (1965); C. Panayotakis, *Decimus Laberius: The Fragments* (2010). Various aspects are discussed in P. Easterling, E. Hall (edd.), *Greek and Roman Actors* (2002); E. Hall, R. Wyles (edd.), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (2008). P. Berol. 13927 = Cunningham no. 15 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2437), an exceptionally interesting list of acts and props assigned to the fifth or sixth century, has been further discussed by Tedeschi, *Pap. Lyp.* 11 (2002) 136–7, 182–3 (whence the text in SB XXVI 16648), and in his *Intrattenimenti* as document no. 75.

## 5187. MONODY

50 ΔΒ.34/A(1–3)β

fr. 2 6.2 × 21.8 cm

First/second century  
Plate II

Fr. 2 preserves the lower part of a narrow column, with nineteen lines of text and a lower margin so deep (8.3 cm) as to suggest that this was the end. Fr. 1, to judge from the pattern of vertical fibres, gives line-ends from the upper part of the same column; and, as Dr Henry observes, this is confirmed by a second layer of vertical fibres overlapping the first, whose edge can be seen 0.2 cm in from the right-hand edge in both fragments (perhaps a *kollisis*, but one with four layers). Fr. 3, to

judge from the line-spacing, could have stood to the left of fr. 1 and provided the first letters of four of its lines, but nothing in the fibres or the text confirms this. The text was written across the fibres on the back of an account or register of grain (amounts in choinikes); fr. 1 recto begins with a blank line which might represent an upper margin, but fr. 2 has no clear lower margin, so that the original roll will have been taller.

A line contains 9–13 letters, 3.5–4.8 cm; left-hand margin, c.0.5 cm, right-hand 0.1 cm. If fr. 1 does fit above fr. 2, the roll had a minimum height of 28 cm; on a normative range of 25–33 cm (W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (2004) 141–3), not much is missing. The lateral margins look quite trim, which suggests that we are dealing with an independent strip, not a fragment of something larger. In that case the text must have been complete in a single column. Allowing for an upper margin of 1.5 cm, we could assume 14 lines at maximum lost above fr. 2.1, of which 10 survive on fr. 1.

The script is a graceless semi-cursive (β in the open-topped form), assignable to the later first/early second century. The amateurish hand, and recycled papyrus, suggest a private copy or composition. No lectional signs are visible; unmarked elision in fr. 2.15; iota adscript missing in fr. 2.3 and 17. In fr. 1.2, and probably fr. 2.4, letters are deleted with a decisive horizontal stroke, which serves also as a space-filler; space at line-ends can be filled with a simple horizontal (fr. 1.6), or by extending the final letter. Abbreviation (or correction?) in fr. 1.1.6. At fr. 2.4 the cancellation of the final letter may aim to start the next word (or colon) on a new line.

In the part continuously intelligible a woman (fr. 2.11–12) declares herself faithful to her true husband, in spite of an abusive command (14–16) to enter a second marriage. The T does not give her name, or any indication whether the background is mythical or everyday. If the former, the speaker might be Penelope, rejecting a suitor, or Helen, repelling Theoclymenus, or Andromache, refusing Pyrrhus, and doubtless much else. It is not clear whether the first husband is dead, or simply missing. A reference to 'mother', if that is to be recognized in fr. 2.2–3, would limit the possibilities.

These lines bear a clear likeness to the *Fragmentum Gryffellianum*, P. Grenf. I 1 = P. Dryton 50 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1743), copied on the verso of a contract dated 10.x.174 BC (P. Dryton 11). Others of similar type include a *Lament of Helen* (P. Tebt. I 1 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1606) = *Coll. Alex.* p. 185), and dialogue form in the Marisaem Melos (ibid. p. 184, with *ZPE* 126 (1999) 81–2) and P. Lond. Lit. 52 (MP<sup>3</sup> 1747).

The genre of *FG* has been much debated; see the edition of E. Esposito (2005) 19ff. Normally speaking it has been taken as a dramatic monologue, descended from those of later Euripidean tragedy, and classified under the general heading 'mime'. Clearly there is an old tradition of female characters in tragic monologues: Simonides *PMG* 543 is an early example, and Theocritus *Id.* 2 may relate to that tradition as well as to the 'women's mimes' of Sophron. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1339 ff.

parodies the Euripidean monody, a passage taken up in the 'mime' Π 219; LXX 4762, as interpreted by M. L. West, *ZPE* 175 (2010) 33-40, gives the same type a pornographic twist. How they would have been described, it is difficult to know, given the variety of solo performances attested for the Roman period (Cunningham, *Herodas* 5 ff.; West, *ibid.* and *Ancient Greek Music* (1992) 376-9); the text by itself cannot show whether the soloist sang, or acted while singing, or sang while others mimed.

The *Lament of Helen* shows a simple systematic (cretic) metre. The *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* is written out as prose, but divided into sections by paragraphs and into cola by double points; these cola are mainly dochmiac, but with a strong admixture of iambic/cretic and anapaestic/dactylic elements (West, *Greek Metre* 149). 4762 may be metrical in part, with two lines in simple iambic trimeters (a parodied quotation?). 5187 fr. 2, similarly written as prose, shows carefully organized variations on an anapaestic/cretic base; see below p. 19.

## Fr. 1

] , ο c δ β  
 ] , ρ α [ α . ]  
 ] , . α δ ε c . .  
 ] α μ ε κ ι  
 5 ] λ α β ε τ ο ν  
 ] , τ ω —  
 ] α ν α π ο π ο .  
 ] ν  
 ] , μ ε  
 10 ] , α ν .

## Fr. 2

ν α ξ ε , [ . . . ]  
 κ ρ ε ι c c , [ ] . . [ ] .  
 τ ρ ι μ ε , [ ] , ν γ ρ α  
 χ η ρ ο ν . [ ] ο ν [ α ]  
 5 α γ ρ ο ν α [ ] υ c α ι  
 . . α ι c π α ρ α π α c  
 τ α c μ ε ν ε ν  
 ε ν υ β ρ ι c μ α γ α  
 μ ω ν ι δ ι , α ν

ν α ξ ε , [ . . . ]  
 κ ρ ε ι c c , [ ] . . [ ] .  
 τ ρ ι μ ε λ υ γ ρ ᾶ  
 χ η ρ ο ν β [ ] ο ν  
 5 ἄ γ ρ ο ν ἄ [ ] υ c α ι  
 ἦ ρ α ι c π α ρ ᾶ π α c  
 τ α c μ ε ν ε ν ,  
 ἐ ν υ β ρ ι c μ α γ α  
 μ ω ν ἰ δ ι c ᾶ ν .

|    |   |    |  |
|----|---|----|--|
| 10 | ε ν ο c ε μ ι τ α<br>λ α υ α γ α μ ε<br>τ ι c ε ν ο c η λ υ<br>θ α π ρ ο c λ ε χ ο c<br>ε γ ω τ ι κ ε λ υ             | 10 | ὄ ν ο c ε ἴ μ ι τ ᾶ -<br>λ α υ α γ α μ ᾶ -<br>τ ι c , ἑ ν ὄ c ἦ λ υ -<br>θ α π ρ ὄ c λ ᾶ χ ο c<br>ἐ γ ᾶ , τ ῖ κ ε λ ε ῦ -<br>ο μ α ι ; τ ῖ δ ' ἰ β ρ ῖ -<br>ζ ο μ α ι ; c ο ῖ Κ ῶ π ρ ι c<br>ἔ δ ω κ ᾶ μ ε μ ὄ ν ω ;<br>δ ῖ γ α μ ο ν λ ᾶ χ ο c<br>ἄ ρ ο ῦ μ α ι . |
| 15 | ο μ α ι τ ῖ δ υ β ρ ι<br>ζ ο μ α ι c κ υ ρ ι c<br>ἔ δ ω κ ᾶ μ ε . ὄ ν ω<br>δ ῖ γ α μ ο ν λ ᾶ χ ο c<br>α ρ ρ ο ῦ μ α ι | 15 |  |

## Fr. 1

1 ] , lumpy upright, sloping slightly from left to right, horizontal at top extending to right (c?)  
 2 ] , ink in lower part of writing space 3 ] , ink at line level, then end of sloping horizontal  
 joining stubby upright near top; long median horizontal crossing sloping upright, τ or rather ψ?  
 c . . , apparently ν or κ, then η 6 ] , tip of horizontal or oblique level with letter-tops (unless  
 part of following τ) 7 α . , κ with a flourish to right? damaged μ? 8 ] , lower right-hand  
 oval, ο or ω? 10 ] , upright and high horizontal extending to right, as of τ or damaged τ ν ,  
 vague traces, perhaps accidental

## Fr. 2

1 ] , upright joining high cross-bar (τ, π) 2 ε c [ , perhaps left-hand arc 3 ε c [ ,  
 trace or thickening at the end of the cross-bar of epsilon? ] , foot of oblique descending from the  
 left 4 [ , upright traces on edge [ε], apparently alpha crossed through with a horizontal  
 stroke which, extending to the right, serves also as line-filler 6 . . , see comm. 9 ἰ δ ι . , see  
 comm. 17 # . . , see comm. on 16

## Fr. 2

' . . . (It is) better . . . to live out (my) bereft life in chastity than to stay in your bed-chamber,  
 a violation of (my) proper marriage. Miserable me, I am the spouse of one man only, I came to the  
 bed of one man only. Why am I being commanded? why am I being insulted? Did Kypris give me to  
 you alone? I refuse a bigamous bed.'

## Fr. 3

. [ .  
 ο [ .  
 c [ .  
 . [ .

## Fr. 3

1 [ , upright crossed by rightward horizontal at top, foot of oblique sloping up from left to right  
 3 [ , lower left-hand arc? 4 [ , tall upright set well in from line-beginning ( [ ] or e.g. φ?)

Fr. 1

In lines 3-7 ε4 5 letters lost to the left.

7 ]αυσασσ, : the last letter looks most like κ, but that leads only to the rarely attested κεισσε, which would in any case be misdivided. Perhaps ]αυκ]π- or ]αυσσ]π-.

Fr. 2

1 ε]]]αε̄ is one of many possibilities.

2 κρεϊσς, [ ] . [ ] : the first trace is part of an upright or flattened curve on the edge; then beyond the break, ink on the line, oblique foot below the line, ink on the line. Presumably κρεϊσς]π] or [if the second trace belongs to this] κρεϊσςπ. If we then read β̄ in 6, κρεϊσσε (κείσι) may govern infinitives in 5 and 7.

2-3 Perhaps κρεϊσςπ ]π]γρ̄ᾱ μ̄η λυγρ̄ᾱ, the reading of μ̄η very speculative. We must then explain the simple dative, since it seems difficult to anticipate the τασ̄ᾱ of 6, or assume a corruption (εν̄ omitted after -σ̄ᾱ). 'It is better for (my) sad mother that I should live out my life as a widow?' This has the disadvantage of introducing a secondary argument for her refusal: elsewhere she stays with the single thought that any second marriage would be bigamous. 'It is better for (me as) a sad mother . . . ' would be more to the point, but μ̄η seems to exclude this reading.

3 λυγρ̄ᾱ: commonly of things, 'baneful', and so in the Cyclops' view of his attackers (*Od.* 9.454), but of persons also in epic ('weaking' in the fight, *Il.* 13.119, 237) and tragedy (*Aesch.* fr. 361, a feeble old man; *Soph. Ant.* 823 Niobe's 'most miserable' death). *Opp. Cyn.* 2.361 λυγρ̄ᾱν . . . μ̄γτέρα, the wild goat about to lose her young.

4 χ̄ηρον β̄[ ]οῡ: of β̄ only upright traces on the broken edge, but the space requires a short word. For the syntax compare Posidon. fr. 45 Theiler (*Strab.* 7.5.3) φ̄οῡμενον ἡμετελ̄η̄ τ̄αυα β̄λον τ̄ὸν χ̄η̄ρον (life separated from women); SEG 38.754 (11 BC: life bereaved of a child); and the traditional course on those who vandalize a tomb, ὀρφανὰ τέκνα Ἀσπινε (16), χ̄η̄ρον β̄λον, ᾱλεῡον ἔργμᾱον (e.g. Kairbel, *Ep. gr.* 406 = RSGAM 4.K31; most recently MAMA XI 565, where the editor refers to L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta V* 709-15, and J. Strubbe, *APAI EPIITUMBIOI* (1927) 289-92).

5 ἀνὸν ε̄]π]ο̄ᾱ, β̄[ ]οῡ . . . ε̄]π]ο̄ᾱ fit together; see e.g. *Jos. AJ* 7.93 γ̄ηρὸκταρος καὶ μακρὸν ἀνέκταρος β̄λον. If we take ε̄]π]ο̄ᾱ as infinitive, something must govern it, probably a κρεϊσςπ; then ἀνὸν further qualifies β̄[ ]οῡ, 'It (is) better to live out (my) bereft life in chastity'.  
6 β̄] ᾱῑς: η̄ represented by a short convex upright on the edge; the first c by a horizontal, which joins a at the top of its loop, with more ink below, complicated by damage to the surface. Not e.g. ]ᾱε̄ (the top of the semi-cursive epsilon always dips sharply before joining the next letter). β̄] seems useful to firm up the syntax, although it introduces the only hiatus in the piece; ᾱῑς must be addressed to the suitor, perhaps the ε̄]π]ο̄ᾱ recognizable in 1.

6-7 παρὰ πατρίδας. The same phrase SEG 5473 18 (broken context); *Coll. Alex. Ep. Adesp.* 9 iii 12 ἀνὸν παρὰ πατρίδας ἀνδρ̄ι ποθητ̄η̄; SEG 51.1792.9 παρ̄β̄θρον αὐδομορον παρὰ πατρίδας φουεὸ[ ]]κεν (= Merkelbach-Stauber, SGO II 11/08/04), Amaseia, 'Roman imperial period'. For the narrower meaning 'bridal chamber', *Antiph. AP* 9.245.1 θαλάμων ἐπὶ πατρίδας.

8 ἐνὶβριεμα rather than ἐν β̄βριεμα. The two examples of the noun in literature (*Plu. Mor.* 350c, *Jos. IJ* 210) both mean 'something on which libris can be practised by others'. Here presumably in an active sense, 'something that outrages'; ἐνὶβριεμα often refers to the violation of women (*Sopat. RG VIII* 109.10).

9 ἰδ̄, ὄν. The omega seems to be corrected at its left, perhaps from an original omicron. Perhaps ἰδ̄κω̄ν 'my own marriage', though κ̄ is not an obvious reading. This form of ἰδ̄ω̄ς makes its literary appearance in the second century AD, prospers in Byzantine prose, and survives into MGR in the sense 'one's own'.

11-12 γαμέτις: a rare word, attested in *AP* 5.180.3 (Melcager) and various elegiac epigrams

ranging from π BC to π AD (SEG 9.190.10, Cyrene; CIRB 130.23 [GVI 1989.20] and 131.10, Pantikapaion; SGO IV 18/14/01.4, Silyon; SGO I 05/01/32. 6 [GVI 1879.6], Smyrna).

12-13 φ̄λωθα. The intrusion of first acrost endings into the strong acrost φ̄λθον is familiar in documents from hellenistic times onwards, as also in LXX and NT; see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 340-41 for examples contemporary with the copying of this papyrus. Here, however, the same happens to the poetic form φ̄λωθα. TLG gives examples from Romanos and from Byzantine prose (and ἐπ̄φ̄λωθα in the anonymous hexameter riddle *AP* 14.44), but the form appears earlier in the verse inscriptions SEG 3.821.1 (Akrai, π/1 BC), GVI 1021.4 (Rome, 1/II AD), 1144.6 (Caria, π AD?), 1544.2 (Egypt, 'imperial period'). 'Zonaras' col. 654 quotes the start of *Il.* 3.184 with ἐλεῖλωθα in place of ἐλεῖφ̄λωθα.

16 cōi: cv pap. Since the nominative, or indeed vocative, pronoun seems not to fit the grammar, I have taken it as a phonetic misspelling of cōi. There are two difficulties. (i) This phonetic confusion certainly occurs in documents of the period, but it seems unexpected for a scribe who otherwise spells well. (ii) ᾱῑς in 6 refers to the would-be new husband; yet cōi here most naturally refers to the original love. I have therefore taken 16-17 as an indignant question: 'was it to you alone that Kypris gave me?' But of course, in a staged piece, the change of reference could be clarified by action.

18 δ̄γαμον. For the sense 'bigamous' *DGE* refers to Manetho 5.291 and Vettius Valens 987.20.

19 ἀνοσῶμαι. *Od.* 1.249 (Penelope) ἦ δ' ὄντ' ἀνεῖται τρογῶρον γάμον . . .

## Metre

In the scheme suggested below, verse end coincides with word end; it may be marked by hiatus (β-ε, if β̄ is correct) or brevis in longo (β̄). The commonest colon is ~~~~~, attested also in *Fragmentum Gnaifillianum* 15 and 36, where the general context, and especially the parallel ~~~~~ (β-β), encourage analysis as anapaestic metrum + cretic. On these lines, we could see *d* (closing sentence) and *i* (closing the poem) as contractions of this colon to a simple tripod; *g* contracts its anapaestic metra still further; *h* returns to ~~~~~ and expands it.

|                                 |        |   |
|---------------------------------|--------|---|
| κρεϊσσε μ̄γρ̄ᾱ μ̄η λυγρ̄ᾱ     | ]~~~~  | a |
| χ̄ηρον β̄λον ἀνὸν ἀνέκτα        | ~~~~~  | b |
| ἦ ᾱῑς παρὰ πατρίδας μόνου     | ]~~~~~ | c |
| ἐνὶβριεμα γάμον ἰδ̄κω̄ν.        | ~~~~~  | d |
| ἐνὸς ἐμ̄ι τάλανα γαμέτις.       | ~~~~~  | e |
| ἐνὸς φ̄λωθα πρὸς λέχος ἄγα.     | ~~~~~  | f |
| τί κελεῖσθαι; τί δ' ἑβριεζομαι; | ~~~~~  | g |
| κοί κ̄ῑστρον ἔβωσέ μ̄ε μόνου;  | ~~~~~  | h |
| διγάμον λέχος ἀνοσῶμαι.         | ~~~~~  | i |

P. J. PARSONS

## 5188. MIME

48 5B.30/E(1-2)b

fr. 1 16.7 × 13 cm

Second century  
Plate III

A group of fragments, of which all but two combine to give remains of two columns, written across the fibres. The other side (original recto) contains three part-columns, written with the fibres, in a neat round hand of the second century; intercolumnium c.2 cm. This text, a prose work concerned with hellenistic history or tactics and related to Diod. Sic. 19.42.6-7, will be published in a later volume.

The copyist of 5188 writes a neat but informal hand with occasional ligatures (αι, ει), the letters well spaced. ο suspended, ι, ρ, and φ with long descenders sometimes reaching the line below; c flat-topped and extended at word-end; γ both Y and V. Compare for example X 1231 (*GMAW* 17), Sappho, and among objectively datable examples, P. Lond. I 110 (*GLH* 18a), a horoscope of the year 137, and assign to the second century. If the proposed reconstruction of fr. 1 ii 7-8 is correct, a line held up to c.25 letters. No clear margin survives, except for an intercolumnium of c.1 cm on fr. 1.

Lectional signs are rare: apparent high stop fr. 1 i 14?, ii 6? (twice), 7, 14?, possible dicolon fr. 1 i 8; elision marked fr. 1 i 9, fr. 3-3, *scriptio plena* fr. 1 ii 6 and also 8 (where metre requires καὶ ἐπ- to be taken in *crasis*). Iota adscript omitted fr. 1 ii 8; iacism fr. 1 ii 4 (twice), αι for ε fr. 1 ii 2?, 15? General punctuation by ecthesis (first line of each speech) and by blanks within the line. The correction in fr. 1 ii 2 is apparently due to the scribe himself.

Fr. 1 clearly comes from a drama, in which the characters are designated by alphabetic numerals: α, β, δ, ε, plus αρχ( ) (fr. 1 ii 12?, 17). These designations sometimes have a bar suprascript or to the right, as would be normal in numerals. But those in the left-hand margin of fr. 1 ii, except for 16 (no bar) and 18 (normal bar), have a bar that extends substantially to the left and sometimes (9 and 10) touches the letter-top. If this is not a simple exuberance, these strokes may have a second function as paragraphi.

This 'algebraic' system is attested for all classes of drama: tragedy (XXVII 2458, Euripides; see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 32 and p. 149 n. 63); New Comedy (PSI X 1176 etc.; see Austin, *CGFPR* 255 n.); and mime (III 413, *Chariton*, and elsewhere; 5189 below). For details see T. Gammacurta, *Papyrologica Saecula* (2006) 7 ff. and 240-47; and on similar notation in MSS of Plautus and Terence, E. J. Jory, *BICS* 10 (1963) 65-78, K.-U. Wahl, *Sprecherbeziehungen mit griechischen Buchstaben in den Handschriften des Plautus und Terenz* (1974). Among these, ε appears only in 413 and P. Berol. 13876 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2436, Cunningham no. 12), both texts of mime; see Wiemken 107-9 for an attempt to reconstruct a mime-troupe of seven players plus chorus. 5188 does not

have the elaborate musical stage directions of 413, but δ̄ at fr. 1 i 5 might be taken as φδ̄(ψ).

Within the text we find a vocative παῖ spoken by A, and perhaps an answering μ[ῆ]τερ (fr. 1 ii 9); and later ἐταίρε, spoken by B (fr. 1 ii 11). That suggests two pairs of characters, mother and child, man and comrade: A designates the mother, and it could be argued (see commentary) that Δ designates the child, ε the comrade. For A playing the female role, compare 413 and P. Lond. Lit. 97 (Cunningham no. 10). In 6-8 and 9 A seems to have two speeches consecutively: probably stage-business, i.e., the epiphany of Dike, intervened.

The text is set out as prose, but the most intelligible part certainly consists of trochaic tetrameters catalectic. That metre played a substantial part in New Comedy (e.g. Men. *Dysc.* 708-83, *Ph.* Act II, *Sam.* Act IV, Sic. 110 ff.), but had little currency in later literature; see West, *Greek Metre* 160, 182. It resurfaces in the finale of *Chariton* (98-100, 103-4, 106), where the company rush to escape and the heroine appeals to the goddess for help. Similarly in 5188 the tetrameters structure a tragic (or paratragic) appeal to Dike, which also suggests the resolution of a dangerous situation.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the important contribution of Dr W. B. Henry to the decipherment and interpretation of this piece.



Fr. 1 col. i

] [. . . . . ] ω [ δ  
 ] . . . πατι [ . ] σταδ[ ]  
 ] αλεκατομ[ ] ματωρ[ . ]  
 ] εβατημαρ. αν.  
 ] δει πατερας : εν[ ]  
 ] ηγησιων[ ] ωτ[ . ] .  
 ] ναι vac. [ . ]  
 ] τοδειβρα[ ]  
 ] ωπαντα[ ]  
 ] αι δ[ ]  
 ] ον ηβρο[ ]  
 ] ε ταυ[ ]  
 ] εε. ας[ . ] οχ[ ]  
 ] ρ. χθεν[ ]  
 ] ντη[ ]  
 ] και[ . ]

Fr. 1 col. i

6 [ see comm. 7 τ, point just below line level ν, see comm. 11 ], perhaps trace of previous letter merging with cross-bar of τ 12 ], upright joined at foot by oblique descending from left? or right-hand remains of round letter? 13 ], end of horizontal just below letter-tops 14 ], foot of oblique descending from left to right ν, in space following possibly a high stop 16 εε, ascending oblique followed by top of triangle (μ?) [ . ] c, a gap, surface damaged, small hole in centre; then foot of upright, two traces above (ν? ι?) 17 ρ, point at two-thirds height just before χ 18 ], right-hand arc of circle? 19 ], horizontal traces at half-height, and a dot of ink above [ . ] upright and high horizontal (τ, π?)

col. ii

1 ] . . . , upright descending well below line, then trace on edge at mid-height (combine as π?); dot at line level, broken above; lower part of upright ending at line level 2 [ remains of lower left-hand arc? τ, left-hand arc [ . ] ν', π written above deleted letter (x?); then lower left arc [ short vertical trace at top of letter-space 3 α, left-hand part of high horizontal 4 ω [ ν, point on edge just below letter-tops, to right perhaps trace below line; point level with left-hand junction of ν 5 ζε, smudged ink with vertical intersecting at mid-point (i. correcting ω?) 6 γ, ink (foot of upright?) just below the line ε, two points in upper part of line, both belonging

col. ii

] ω[ . . . . . ] . . . δει[  
 βλ. [ . ] οντ. . . ε[ ] π. χετα. [ . ]  
 τα. ερπηκαταφαιλα[ ]  
 κρενωτω. ] ν ευσεβια[ ]  
 5 ζε. βροτους [ ]  
 ζεμω. στε. αυγητε. δαι. [ ]  
 νυνδιη. ευχαριστως. [ ]  
 καιεπαρρηγουνηθεα[ ]  
 παιβλεπει α ν. αμ[ ]  
 10 οντ. . . ευσεβεις. ζειθε[ ]  
 εταρε βλεπει [ . ] και[ ]  
 10 β ποσ. . . αυ. [ . . . ] αρ[ . ] ηθε[ ]  
 ψαικ[ ] αιβλε[ ] ε[ . . . ] ν. [ ]  
 10 α δαιμο. [ ] ες. ca. [ . . . . . ] το β[ ]  
 ε[ . . . ] ρεταμ[ . . . . . ] ζη. [ ]  
 15 ζη[ . . . . . ] α το. [ . . . . . ] ιςκ[ ]  
 αρ. ε. [ . . . . . ] λοιπον[ . . . . . ] ντ. [ ]  
 α ζ[ ] ο[ . . . . . ] ντ. [ ]  
 ] ον[ ]  
 20 ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ]

to short rising oblique? νε, apparently space with possible high point δαι, [ . ] remains of short diagonal ascending gently from left to right 7 [ ink in lower part of line, on edge 9 α, thick vertical trace at top left of Α 10 τ, . . . , top of upright joining horizontal or concave element at mid-line, damage below (left-hand part of ω?); after damaged patch, trace level with letter-tops, then two more close together 11 ], high horizontal, ink at line level below the beginning 12 π, ink clear but horizontal extends unusually far to right c, . . . , oblique ink reaching below the line; perhaps left-hand branch and upright of γ; point on damaged patch (or part of previous letter?) ] . . , stroke rising from left to right projecting above writing space like acute accent; diagonal descending from left to right, well above the line, possible horizontal ink below 13 ] ν, upper and lower ink on edge, extremities of κ? [ ink at line level 14 μo, top of upright c' c, the apparent stop in a blank letter-space between the sigmas [ λ followed by foot of oblique rising to left, rather than μ? β[ no trace of suprascript stroke 15 ] α, upright with cross-bar or ligature joining top from left [ left-hand end of very high horizontal, point at line level below, i.e. π? 16 ] . . , trace at line level, on underlayer [ upright on edge 17 ε, [ upper left-hand arc with central bar, as in ε, but bar slopes strongly downwards ] . . , slightly curving horizontal joining top of upright [ short upright joining horizontal below, in upper part of writing space (if ω, much shallower than usual)

Fr. 2

] . . φ[ ]  
 ] μεν[ ]  
 ] μ. . . [ ]  
 ] . . . . [ ]

Fr. 3

] ν[ ]  
 ] φι. [ ]  
 ] ν' α[ ]

Fr. 3

2 [ start of oblique ascending from left to right, e.g. λ

Fr. 1 col. ii

] ω[ . . . . . ] . . . δει[  
 βλ. [ . ] οντ. . . ε[ ] π. χετα. [ . ]  
 τα. ερπη. και. τα. φαλα. [ ---  
 κρωνωτω. την. ευσεβ(ε)ια[ ν ---x  
 5 ζει. βροτους. [ ]  
 α Ζου. μεγατε. αγνη. τε. δαιμ[ ον ---x  
 νον. Δικη. ευχαριστω. σο[ ε ---x  
 και. επαρρηγουση. θεα. [ ]  
 10 α παι. βλεπει; α. ναι. μ[ ]  
 α δυοταρ. ευσεβει. ε. ζει. θεα. [ ]  
 β εταρε. βλεπει; [ . ] και[ ]  
 β ποσ. . . αυ. [ . . . ] αρ[ ε. . ] ηθε[ ]

|    |  |                           |
|----|--|---------------------------|
|    |  | φαι και βλε[π]ε[...].ν.[  |
| α  |  | δαίμονες· ca. [...].το β[ |
| 15 |  | ε[...].ρεται[...].ζη[     |
| 5  |  | ζη[...]. α το [...].ικε[  |
| αρ |  | ς, [...].λοιπον[...].πρω[ |
| α  |  | ζ[...].ο[...].πρ[         |
| 20 |  | ]ου[                      |
|    |  | ].                        |

"... judge pious [for this is what saves] mortal men." A. "Greatest Zeus and Justice, holy deity now [show yourselves!] Goddess, I thank you as [you appear] and help (me)." A. "Child, do you see?" D(?) "Yes, [mother]." A. "Truly the goddess saves the pious." B. "Comrade, do you see?" ...

## Fr. 1 col. i

5 δέ. The supracrit δ might belong to an addition or correction; or it might combine with ω as an abbreviation of ψδθγ. For this abbreviation (of standard form) see 5203 below. If rightly expanded, the word could be taken as a stage direction, equivalent to the *XOPOY* of New Comedy, for a sung interlude (choral or solo) whose words are not recorded. But we might expect, if that were its function, to find it set off from the text by spacing or lineation.

6 ]εκα κατ' ὀμμάτων. [ ]. After -αω a point level with letter-tops, and well below the line another apparent trace, very thin, sloping down from right to left. Only ρ and φ have long enough descenders, but this stroke seems too slanting for either; if both traces belong to λ or κ, the letter was unexpectedly large.

κατ' ὀμμάτων rings literary both as a word and in construction (Eur. *Hyp.* 525-6 Ξρους Ξρους, δ κατ' ὀμμάτων / στάζων πόδων, apparently imitated in PGM 4.2569, 2661).

7 Εξ ο]εθα τῆν ἀμαρτίαν. ἀμαρτία and δίκη/δικη (ii 7) often appear in the same context. This phrase might end an iambic or trochaic verse; so might κατ' ὀμμάτων in 6. To judge from col. II, one line would be long enough to take all or most of an iambic trimeter, but not a trochaic tetrameter as in ii 3-8. If we ignore the unexplained traces at the end of 6, 6-7 might combine in a tetrameter, e.g. β]άλε κατ' ὀμμάτων [ἀμάρτην] ο]εθα τῆν ἀμαρτίαν (WBH).

A little after the end, a triangular blot: a clumsy alpha? an attempt at punctuation?

8 ]θεα πατρως: (-)θεα πατρως rather than δ' ε]πει τήρας?

9 -ν ἦσαν? νήσαν?

ζωα(?): ζ apparently begins a new word. After τ', space for about two letters, perhaps a trace of a third on the edge. The apostrophe (elision mark?) seems to exclude a part of ζωαίως: so e.g. ζώ α' [ζω?

14 ], ον, η]βρο[ ]: after ν a space and probably a high stop. Otherwise θ]ενον ἢ βρο[ένων would suit the traces.

16 ]ε ασ[. ] ε]χ[; perhaps ]εσδ[ε]ς. After εε a space, surface damaged. If this was blank, what follows must be a word-beginning perhaps ε]χ- with initial diaeresis, perhaps preceded by ε]λα. If it contained a letter, e.g. ἔμας (β]υκ[ε]ρ- DC.

17 ]ε, χ]ε[ε[; e.g. π]αχ]θ[ε]ο[ι], τ]α]ρ]αχ]θ[ε]ο[ι] (WBH).

## col. II

1-5 (2-5 all indented) must belong to a single speech. 4-5 compose a trochaic tetrameter cata-

lectic, so there is a good chance that 1-3 were written in the same metre. On a rough count, one tetrameter would occupy 1 and the first part of 2, another the latter part of 2 and the whole of 3.

2 βλ. [ ]οτ. . . [ ]π. χε[ε]μ[. ] At the beginning, perhaps βλε, cf. forms of βλέπειν in 9, 11 and 13; then a gap. After τ a left-hand arc, perhaps with medial cross-bar, i.e., ε rather than c. βλε[ψ]ον? βλε[ψ]οντες or βλε[ψ]οντες? At the end, ε[ε] corrected to ε[ε], then χε[ε] rather than χε[ε]. I have no ideas except βλε[ψ]οντες ἐπέχε[ε]μ[ε] for ἐπέχε[ε]τε: 'look and pay attention', or 'look and stop (what you are doing)'? But the text offers only one other example of this phonetic spelling, and that too uncertain (ii 15 and note); and the resolution in the final metron is rare even in comedy (Men. *Dys.* 727, Pk. 326, Sam. 602).

2-3 Assuming that 4-5 contain a complete tetrameter, with four syllables lost at the end of 4, we could reconstruct the verse before as ---X-]τὰ τερπνά καὶ τὰ φαῖλα [---. There is then a chance that the beginning of this verse overlaps the last surviving letters of 2. E.g. ἡ δίκη, δὲ φῶ] τὰ τερπνά καὶ τὰ φαῖλα [γ]ήνετα,] κρῖνάτω κτλ. WBH, who compares Hes. *Op.* 3-8.

3 τὰ τερπνά καὶ τὰ φαῖλα. Εἰσενεργε, φαῖλα stand opposed to καλὰ, ἀγαθὰ, χροητά and the like. τερπνά are ambiguous. They may form a polar expression with φαῖλα, as the nice and nasty sides of life. Alternatively they may be, like φαῖλα, morally dubious (Euseb. *Comm. in Ps.*, PC 24.28B εὐ πῶς τὸ καλόν, φῶν καὶ τερπνόν οὐδὲ τὸ τερπνόν, αἰσάναι καὶ καλόν παλλὰ γὰρ φῶτα μόν, φαῖλα δέ), and so liable to divine judgment (in 1 Δίκη would be one possible restoration, cf. 7). End ε.g. [π]ράγματ[α].

4 κρῖνάτω τῆν: the traces exclude κρῖνάτωσ[α].

4-5 κρῖνάτω τῆν ε]ε]β[ε]α[ι]ν[ ]ο]ε[ ]ε]ι βροσ[ο]ι. -ε] is probably the end of a verb; the singular might apply to ε]ε]β[ε]α[ι]ν[ ] or to the subject of κρῖνάτω; any restoration has to provide a syntactic connection between the two verbs. So e.g. . . . ε]ε]β[ε]α[ι]ν[ ] φ]ε γὰρ ε]ο[ ]ε]ι βροσ[ο]ι; cf. 10. [Ericharm.] 240.2 KA ταῦτα γὰρ ε]ε]β[ε]ι βροσ[ο]ι.

6-7 Εξ ὀμμάτων ἀγνή τε δαίμων ἀφαινεῖα] νῦν Δίκη? Or better, to comprehend both deities, ἀφαινεῖα (or ἀποφαινεῖα) WBH. In the space after μέγιστε, as more clearly after Δίκη, there is a dot of ink which might be taken as a high stop, unless it belongs to the extended cross-bar of the ε before.

7-8 Εξ εὐχαριστοῦ ε]ο]ι παροῦς] ] καὶ ἐπαρηγοῦσ[ε], θεά. ]: θεά (vocative) WBH, rather than θεῆ. The line might end here, with a new utterance (verse) beginning in 9. However, the problem is more complex. A speaks at least as far as θεῆ; then twice in 9, and again at the beginning of 10. In 9-10 we could provide the expected alternation of speakers by emending the second *νῦν* in 9; see note there. In 8-9 we could postulate a short utterance in the lacuna at the end of 8. But that leads nowhere. The space is short, hardly more than ten letters, of which five would be needed for the spaced *nota personae*; and in any case such an utterance would be extraneous to the tetrameters on either side. It seems likely, then, that A's invocation in 6-8 and her reaction in 9 were divided by stage business, i.e. the epiphany of Dike.

9 ναι, βλέπεις; question? Then ναι would make a natural reply, with an answering vocative: μ[η]τερ WBH, who suggests that the second α- is a mistake for δ-. That would identify A and Δ as mother and child, and the mother duly takes up the exchange in 10.

If ναι, βλέπεις; begins a tetrameter, the last metron at least should spill over into the next line. In fact, as WBH observed, 9-10 would fit together as a single verse: A ναι, βλέπεις; Δ ναι, μ[η]τερ. A δῆνος ε]ε]β[ε]α[ι]ν[ ] ε]ε]β[ε]α[ι]ν[ ] θεά. That would leave vacant space at the end of 9: 'Presumably the scribe began a new line because he saw that there would not be room for the extended blank space that marks speaker-change followed by the speaker designation and the beginning of the utterance itself' WBH.

10 ἄνταξ ε]ε]β[ε]α[ι]ν[. For ἄνταξ cf. 413 129.

θε[ά], or θε[ά] if the moral is expressed more generally (WBH).

11-12 Indented, but less deeply (a single letter-space) than 2-5, 7-8, 13, 15.

11 *εραίρε*, *βλέσενε*; [ ]  $\chi$  not compatible with a tetrameter: a switch to prose?

Before  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  the long horizontal and attendant trace suggest a speaker-designation. *A*, *D*, and  $\epsilon$  could all be considered. *A* can be eliminated: if she is a mother ( $\theta$ ), she cannot be addressed as *εραίρε*. As between *d* and  $\epsilon$ , the advantage of  $\epsilon$  is that otherwise *D* would be asked the same question twice, first by *A* and then by *B* WBH. Then e.g.  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  [  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$  'yes, indeed', cf. 413.41] WBH.

12  $\pi\omicron\varsigma$  . . .  $\alpha\gamma$  [ . The numeral shows that this begins a new utterance, therefore with a complete new word. Perhaps  $\pi\omicron\varsigma\alpha$   $\gamma\alpha\iota$  [a.

$\alpha\gamma$ ?, cf. 17. A trace of the raised  $\chi$  may be visible.

13 Possible, cf. 5, that  $\psi\alpha$  ends a word in the line before, e.g.  $\text{ced}[\psi\alpha\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\lambda\epsilon\tau\epsilon]$  [.

14 *δαίμονες*: followed by a space in which a high spot. This seems to set the word off: because it is a vocative, or a vocative exclamation? The former might address Dike and Zeus; for the latter (an interjection of the same type as *Ἡρακλείος*) see Men. *Asp.* 399  $\acute{\omega}$  *δαίμονες*, Opp. *Hal.* 1.702 *δαίμονες*. E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (1996) 189, notes that the word is 'generally used in true addresses', whereas *θεοί* occurs quite commonly in the interjective function.

ca. [ :  $\lambda$  followed by a trace (foot of rising oblique?) on the line; or perhaps simply  $\lambda$ .

15  $\epsilon$  [ . . . ]  $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  [ before  $\rho$ ,  $\iota$  in ligature with a preceding letter?  $\epsilon$  [  $\gamma$  ]  $\rho$   $\iota$   $\rho$   $\epsilon$ , cf. 12, would be too short for the space.  $\chi$  [  $\rho$  ]  $\rho$   $\epsilon$   $\tau$   $\alpha$  [ , I. *χαίρετε*, would make sense if *δαίμονες* is vocative (Cratin. 235 KA, AP 7.420.4, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 8.41.3). For a phonetic spelling *ai/e* see ii 2 above, but there is no certain example elsewhere in this text.

$\epsilon\gamma$  [ : the last trace is the beginning of an overline, presumably indicating a character-numeral.

17  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$  [ . Presumably not a proper name, but descriptive of the character's role in the drama, e.g. *ἀρχ(ων)*, like *βασι(λεύς)* in *Charition*, or the performer's place in the troupe, i.e., *ἀρχ(ιμμος)* or its feminine (the Greek word *Phu. Sulla* 36.1; *archimimus* Suet. *Resp.* 19 etc. and inscriptions, *archimima* in ILS 5211 and 5212, both from Rome). For detail see *Brill's New Pauly* s.v. *archimimus*; Ferri 29–5.

At line-end  $\sigma$  [  $\rho$  ]  $\epsilon$ ? (D. Colomo).

P. J. PARSONS

### 5189. MÍME

40 5B.91/E(1) + 46 5B.33/B(1)a ↓ →

20 × 25.2 cm

Sixth century  
Plates IV–V

Two fragments combine to give parts of a sheet or codex-page. The page was originally c.20 cm wide, with surviving lateral margins of c.2 cm; the height survives to c.25 cm, with a lower margin of c.3.5 cm. The written area was c.15.5 cm wide, and at least 21.5 cm deep, with at least 31 lines; the width makes it clear that only one column was written per page. If the upper margin was as deep as the lower, we must reckon with a page c.20 cm broad × 28 cm tall, comparable with some aberrants of Turner's Group 4 (*Typology* 16), and there would be no reason to suppose that many lines were lost at the top. But of course there is not enough regularity to support a firm argument. Complete lines of → have 34–5 letters. A separate scrap, on which nothing can be read but [ ]  $\epsilon\rho\chi$  [ , may have belonged to the same manuscript, though the letters seem smaller and less heavily inked.

The script is a sizable sloping majuscule (basic letter-height, 0.3 cm), bilinear except for  $\phi$  and  $\psi$  and (below the line)  $\gamma$ ;  $\epsilon$  and  $\kappa$  tall and narrow,  $\gamma$   $\gamma$ -shaped,

$\kappa$  often divided with a gap after the upright, a  $\phi$  whose roundel occupies most of the line-space. The writer makes some contrast between thick and thin strokes, but not enough to match the more stylized versions of this style (see *GBEBP* 28a–b); a more informal version, used by Dioscorus of Aphroditia, is securely dated c.550–70 (*GBEBP* 32a; see L. Del Corso, 'Le scritture di Dioscoro', in J.-L. Fournet, C. Magdelaine (edd.), *Les Archives de Dioscore d'Aphroditie cent ans après leur découverte* (2008) 89–115, esp. 105–8). 5189 can reasonably be assigned to the sixth century.

There are occasional abbreviations:  $\#$  for the article  $\rho\alpha$  ( - ), see  $\downarrow$  13 n., and final  $\rightarrow$  for  $\rightarrow\sigma\varsigma$ ,  $\downarrow$  27;  $\kappa$  with superscript omicron and overline for  $\kappa\omicron(\epsilon\epsilon)$  - ), see  $\downarrow$  21 n. At  $\rightarrow$  16 and 23  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}$  represents  $\mu\acute{\iota}(\acute{\nu}\omicron\upsilon)$ ; at  $\rightarrow$  16  $\jmath$  has a small arc above it, at  $\rightarrow$  23 the word is overlined, as also  $\downarrow$  20 and 28  $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\chi$  for  $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\chi(\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon)$  and  $\rightarrow$  18  $\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\rho$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\iota\rho(\omicron\upsilon)$ , 19  $\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\upsilon$  in full. Here overlining may emphasize the abbreviation, or simply pick out an important element (as we do by underlining); cf. P. Col. VII 174. In addition it distinguishes the numerals which serve to designate actors/characters. No other lectional signs, except diacresis on initial  $\iota$  ( $\downarrow$  3, 12;  $\rightarrow$  19?), and perhaps / as divider between speeches ( $\rightarrow$  2?). *Scriptio plena* is the norm ( $\downarrow$  5, 11, 19, 27;  $\rightarrow$  20).

The scribe observes the rules of syllable-division, but his orthography shows a number of phonetic errors: itacisms everywhere, and also  $\epsilon\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$  for  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$  46,  $\nu\epsilon$  for  $\nu\alpha\iota$   $\downarrow$  15,  $\epsilon\kappa\omega$  for  $\epsilon\chi\omega$   $\downarrow$  22, perhaps  $\rightarrow$   $\zeta\omega\tau\omicron\sigma$  for  $\rightarrow$   $\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron\sigma$   $\downarrow$  27.  $\rightarrow$   $\eta$  not  $\epsilon\tau$  in second person singulars like  $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\chi\eta$ .

The well-starched handwriting would suggest a high-minded text. But language and content show that we are dealing with a mime, and a prose mime in late Greek. Parallels for the grammar and vocabulary can often be found in the documentary texts of the period, as well as in Byzantine authors and in Modern Greek. So  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho\mu(\alpha)$ ,  $\phi\alpha\gamma\eta(\omicron)\nu$ ,  $\delta\epsilon\psi$ ,  $\delta\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ ; the Latinisms  $\phi\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota(\omicron)\nu$  and  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\omicron\nu$ ;  $\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon$  'anything'/'nothing'. Note also the exclamations:  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}$  repeatedly,  $\epsilon\epsilon$  and  $\phi\omega\upsilon$  ( $\downarrow$  16),  $\alpha\upsilon$  ( $\rightarrow$  22, 25),  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota$  ( $\rightarrow$  25).

In this drama, the numerals *A B  $\Gamma$  D E* denote five actors/characters, in addition to  $\delta$  *ἀκαιο*( $\sigma$ ). The system is familiar from the *Charition* mime, III 413, and 5188, although 5189 does not include musical effects: see the introduction to 5188. When the numeral represents a nominative (as in introducing a speech), it has no article; the oblique cases, which occur within the narrative, sometimes have the article, sometimes (where the syntax is clear) not. If we assume that the numeral designates the actor, not the character, we have to reckon with the possibility that one actor took more than one role. It is not clear whether the first person narrator is one of the numbered five, rather than e.g. an *archimimos* or *archimima*, cf. 5188 (certainly not *A* or *B*; see  $\downarrow$  23–4); in places he or she clearly plays the incompetent cook, addressed as  $\pi\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\eta$  ( $\downarrow$  25–6,  $\rightarrow$  9), and at  $\rightarrow$  25 it seems that the cook's lamentation was introduced by a numerical designation, now illegible.  $\Delta$  may be addressed as  $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$  or  $\nu\epsilon\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$  (title or name?) in 46 and  $\rightarrow$  27; if he is described as



3 . . . [upright; small triangular trace on line, Δ or illusion . . . ], oblique curving rightwards at foot  
4 . . . [(first), first, foot of upright . . . 5 ] , short upright . . . , trace on damaged surface,  
then upright . . . [upright . . . 6 τ , upright, then damaged fibres . . . 7 ] , foot of oblique  
descending from left . . . 8 ] , right-hand end of high horizontal . . . ω (first), remains of two  
uprights . . . ω (second), perhaps traces of diagonal rising from left to right; above to the right, right-  
hand end of horizontal . . . 10 ] , apparently top of upright and right-hand cross-bar of τ, but  
more ink than expected at the point of junction . . . [upright or left-hand arc of oval . . . 11 ] , foot  
of upright . . . 12 ] , foot of oblique descending from left and hooked strongly rightwards at foot  
μ . . . , damaged upright; oblique sloping down from left to right, further ink to the left (A?) 13 υ . . .  
upright or oblique descending from left to right; similar with trace of horizontal joining at two-thirds  
height 15 υ , [upright 16 υ υ , upright, traces to left and right above, left-hand end  
thin horizontal joining at mid-height . . . ε , upright . . . υ , upper left part of oval 18 ] , upright  
ερχομαι, traces also of overline? 20 κ , upright . . . α . . . , steep oblique descending from left to  
right; upright 21 ε . . . , oblique trace on edge?; top of upright . . . β , oblique tail below the line,  
sloping down from right to left 22 π . . . , left-hand side of oval; top of upright but further ink  
to left and below [ ] , upright hooked sharply to right at foot ληα possible high trace to right  
of α μ . . . , remains of left-hand arc, more ink to upper right (top arc?) 23 . . . , first, top  
of oblique descending from left to right . . . ο , upright 25 ] , thin horizontal joining upright on  
edge near its top 28 ] , trace at line level? γ . . . , three small traces suggesting tips and lower  
arc of an open-topped loop

↓

] χερια[  
] . . . α , [ ] γπο[  
] ] μάτια [ . . . ] εγω , [ ]  
] ακουε , [ ] εκ , [ ]  
5 ] , υ β μνημόνευε εκ , [ ]  
] αββα Δ στήκει μοι , Δ [ ]  
] άνωθεν αποκ . θρ . . . τον[  
] , ιω , ευ . . . εϊδε στρατιωτ[  
10 ] . . . [ ] μεν λαβινα , [ ]  
] τράτην εδϊρει[ ]  
] οτε εβω κυρ , [ ] , υ  
] μ . . . ετια Β ή ίσπα-  
] . . . [ . . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . ] , αυτην το(υ) κόνωντο  
] Δ κολλώντος λ] αρολκω εξια Β έρχη τρώγης πίνεις [ ]  
15 ] καικλα . . . μ , Δ τοιμαλακουεσθ; Β νε κύρ[ ]  
] ε έ . Δ πτόνωτο[ ] φου ένόςρειν . Β δευ έοι εις τοκαπ[ ]  
] . . . ο . . . [ ] ειγω . . . και άγόρασόν σου μαγιρ[ ]  
] ] ειςβαλ . . . [ ] εΐςέρχομαι(αι) . Β έχεις τίποτε φαγειν; [ ]  
] . . . τον . ρ υ [ ] ου μ . Β κέρμα . Β επι έκων

20 ] , υ . . . τε[ ] ] σε πο φακίλλιν μου και Δ εξέρχ(ομένου)  
] δια τί αυτην εδϊρες το(ις) κό(σσοις); Δ τράγγωντος τού(υ) Β θέλικ  
κύρ[ ] π . . . ωμ , [ ] , ικαλιαιμ , [ ] κια ούκ έκω ακρι  
. . . ε[ ] , κω . Β ο , [ ] ] ουν κύρι υ πο[ ] εις τον άνθρ , έγώ  
] εξέρχη έως της άγορας , ειςέρχη  
25 ] , οτε φαγιν παραθώ σοι , γετή και  
λέγει μοι πόρηη , δια τί κακώς έφηρες ; και  
] κρο( - - ) εϊδε ουτω . του(υ) Β κοκκιώντω(ς)  
] , έγώ διδω σοι βάλκιν , του(υ) Δ εξέρχ(ομένου)

1 χέρια 'hands' is one possibility.

3 [ . . . ] : among many possibilities, a character-numeral in this lacuna and then *έγώ*.

5 E.g. *έκιν* (v. cf. 19 (WBH)).

6 ] αββα: the Aramaic *άββα* (variously accented by editors *άββα*, *αββά* and *αββά*) serves as a title of respect for monks and other Christian hierophants, as well as in the limited sense 'Abbot', in Egyptian documents and in inscriptions and in the Fathers (see Lampe; Förster, *WB* s.v.). It occurs also, occasionally, as a proper name. Compare →27 *υαββα* (one word (unattested)? or *νέ* (l. *ναι*), *αββα*?). Both contexts are damaged, but in both the word could be addressed to character Δ, whether as title or personal name. The same problem arises with →26 *νόνα* (or *Νόνα*).

*στήκει μοι*: *στήκειν* 'stand' is well attested in later Greek. But here probably we should recognize a phonetic spelling of *εσθίει* μοι, 'that suits me', a frequent phrase in documentary papyri (TLG yields one example, *Adamantius, de recta in deum fide* p. 116.16). Gignac, *Grammar* I 265-6 for such spellings.

7 αποκ . θρ . . . τον[ : some letters obscured by correction (βγτ to θδζθζ) seems to lead nowhere (LXXC and proverbial *εσπασεν από κάδου*, 'is up in the bucket'), *άπό καθ(ή)ου* might suit a discussion of clothing (B n.).

8 ] ] ιω εω: the first trace is a high horizontal, but probably not high enough to cover a character-numeral; before ε , remains of two uprights. After εω , remains of a high horizontal suit a character-numeral (DC); faint traces of an oblique below would suggest A or Δ. In that case, *εω* ends a word: e.g. *ιω[ ] ήλω έγω*, cf. 2.

*εϊδε*: here and in 20, 27, →6, 26 l. *εϊδε*. For this fossilized imperative, equivalent to 'look!', see Schwyzler, *Gt. Gr.* II 583 f.; Blas-Debrunner-Rehkopf §107 n. 7. Documentary papyri present a few examples, but more of the living form (governing an accusative, or followed by *ελ'άυ*).

*εστρατιωτ*: space for 2-4 letters at line-end. Part of *εστρατιωτής*, 'soldier' (cf. 12-13 *ιστρα[ ]* or 'water lettuce'? Or of *εστρατιωνικός* 'soldiery', or the salve called *εστρατιωνικός*? If *ιππ[ ]* were correct, we could look for *εστρατιων[ ]* ] *χλιμας* or the like.

9 *λαβω*: l. *λαβέω*?

10 *αυτην* may imply that the woman is onstage, unlike *αυτην* elsewhere.

*εδϊρει*[ , l. *εδϊρειε* ; *εδϊρες* 21 , →27.

11 *οτε ετε* (with subjunctive, see Blas-Debrunner-Rehkopf §382.2?)

Perhaps *κύρι* [μ] (slightly cramped at line-end). *κύρι* (or *κύριτ*?) again 15, 22, 23, →22: vocative from the Late (and Modern) Greek nominative *κύριος*. For examples in Byzantine prose, see Lampe s.v.; for documentary usage, Gignac, *Grammar* II 26-7.

12 ] μ . . . ετια , apparently ] *μμετια* . Just conceivably *ετια* for *αιρία* (WBH).

ή *ισπα[ ]* or *ισπα[ ]* ? Literally, horse-riding might belong to the same context as soldiers (6). As a sexual

image (a suggestion of DC), it might combine with κέφαρος (19); see J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (1982) 165f., 191f.; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (1991) §877, 961-3.

13 | αὐτηρ: the spacing and the trace (φ of upright) would allow γαίτηρ.

το(ι): this abbreviation † occurs frequently in our text. Normally the tau has above it a curving line like a short-mark (-13, 21, 27, 28; →16, 20, 29); occasionally the suprascript takes the form of a small circle (-27; →12, 25, 27). Assuming that in all these represent the same abbreviation, in more or less cursive form, the basic form must be το(ι). In 413 and →20 there follows a genitive noun, which suggests το(ι); and that would be consistent with its use before a character-numeral (427 and 28, →16 and 29), since such letters may take the article when context requires it (-→18 το(ι) B, 23 τῶ(ι) B). In 421 the grammar suggests the dative το(ι). For parallels see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (1981) 69-70.

κέφαρος: 'the one bending over?' κέφαρ, rarely attested, replaces κόννησ as part of the fight from consonant-stems, whose conjugation was thought difficult enough to teach in schools. At Aristoph. *Frogs* 365 ἐξέλεξεν σε τῆς πυγῆς θύραξ κίββα, the scholiast glosses κίββα with κέφαρα. Does this end a clause? or should we take το(ι) κέφαρος A together?

14 | κολλάντος, rather than κολλῶν τος, perhaps followed by a dative; again →15 κολλῶν ἀσφῶ, 29 κολλάντος αὐ|. In NT and patristic literature (see Lampe) we find the passive κολλάσθαι with dative, in the sense 'stick to' something or to a person, e.g. 1 Cor. 6.16 τῇ πόρῃ; so *Vit. Aesop.* (3) 30 μὲ μοι κολλῶ (LSJ Rev. Suppl.). It would be no surprise to find bodily contact in slapstick, but all forms of the verb in 5189 are active, and in the first two examples there is no obvious space for a reflexive pronoun as object. I can only assume that the writer used κολλῶ intransitively; for comparable usage in medieval Greek, see Kiriāras, *Λεξικὸν ἐκκ. κολλῶ* 1.B.

15 | ἀφροῦσιν εἶρα. I can make nothing of this παραλείπει would be an attested word ('omit-pret'), but the first trace suggests λ or the first half of ο or η. We expect a dative (proper name?).

ἔρχη τράγως πίνει: 1. ἔρχη τράγως πίνει. This might be a description of B's movements, or the words he utters.

15 | Ἰουλιανῶ. . . με; perhaps κα κλάρις (l. κλάρις) ἡμέε. κλάω, a thematic substitute for κλάω (backformed from acc. ἐκλάω), on the model of φθάνω?, continues to be used in the general sense 'break' (TLG, LBC). But it acquires also the limited meaning 'break wind', and by transfer 'express content for' (with following accusative): see LBG for the literal meaning in Byzantine texts, and for its use in insult: e.g. the splendid rant *Σπανος* (Rec. B) 207-8 (p. 165 Eideneier) πρὸς σε, γαμῶ σε, ἀνάγκη σε, κλάω σε καὶ φασί με. Both senses survive in Modern Greek. Here no doubt literal (16 φῶ is the reaction?); cf. *Charition*, where πορῶ plays a large part. For the spelling in -ων: see *CGI* III 5.13, 147.70-72; for synonyms E. *Αἰνῶια, Πνεύματα* (1925) 210.

ποιμαλικοῦσες: apparently τοῦ μαλακοῦ, and then cec† remains to be explained; the spacing does not allow τοῦ(ι) μαλακοῦ. The word might be a name or a description; (1) *Μάλακος* is the slave-confidant in the mime *Adulteress* (413 verso); the name occurs occasionally in inscriptions, not confined to slaves. The definite article here may tell against this possibility; (2) The adjective commonly means 'effeminate', but in this context we should think of its specialized use (overlapping that of κίββα) as a performer; see Perpillou-Thomas, *ΖῆΞ* 108 (1936) 228-9. These are dancers (Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 668 ad saltandum non cinisus malicus aiume est aiume φῶ), dressed as women. Note P. Hib. I 54 = *W. Chr.* 477.10-17 (Oxy); c.245 30) ἀπόσειλον δὲ θῆναι καὶ Ζηροβῆδον τὸν μαλακὸν ἑστῶτα νόμισαν καὶ κίββα καὶ κρόταλα, χρεια γὰρ ἐστὶ ταῖς γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῆς θυσιᾶς ἔχοντα δὲ καὶ ἱματιῶν ὡς ἀκρίβησαν; and the list of performances and props in P. Berol. 13927 = Cunningham no. 15 (MP<sup>2</sup> 2437), lines 4 and 38-9 τῶν μαλακῶν . . . περιώματα φακίαι.

cec†: the 'elision mark' stands above the right-hand end of the horizontal, quite different in shape from the usual †, on which see 13 n. It cannot represent an elision as such, unless the speaker breaks off. But if it indicates abbreviation, what does it abbreviate? I can only assume that the first c

is a mistaken addition, which leaves ἐστ(ι). In that case 'Is this the Malakes doing?', i.e., as a delicate souf, eating and drinking? or as an effeminate, displaying the effects of ἐμπρωστεια (Henderson, *Maculate Muse* §470)? In any case, the reply ὡ κέρ(ι) suggests that this clause is a question.

16 | ι. ναί.

16 | εἴ, cf. →19? The exclamation, familiar in Greek Tragedy, recurs in the mime *Adulteress* (413 verso) 35.

† πρῶτον(ι) φῶ ἐνέσχευε: A splits, and B comments 'Yuck, he's fallen ill!' LSJ notes Epicharmus fr. 122.4 KA, φῶ τῶν κακῶν, but that looks like a dialect form of φέθ. Here we should recognize a spelling (as also in MGR φου) of φέ, an exclamation attested at Aristoph. *Lys.* 295, 305 (by conjecture also *Theas* 245). Com. edd. 1147.45 KA, and Terence, *Adelphi* 412. It was thought to mimic an expulsion of breath (schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 294 φέθ τῆς σφάμας; Suda E 2807 ἐπὶ τοῦ φωνῶτος τὸ πῶ). Like English *phew*, it can indicate disgust at a bad smell: see Philogelos §233 ὀδύτομος καθφ ἵστανήτας θῆγε Χαιρε—κλεισῶν εἶπε: φέ. τοῦ δὲ ἐρηκότος: τὶ γὰρ εἶπας; ἐφῆ ἔθβειας, and the widely accepted conjecture at Aesch. *Ag.* 1309-8, where Cassandra reacts to the smell of blood. Similarly Latin *fi/fu* (ancestor of English *fu*) as variously restored in three passages of Plautus: *Cas.* 727 (*foetel tuo' mibi sermo*), *Most.* 39 (*obolusit alium . . . canem, canem comixtatem*), *Pseud.* 1294 (*in os igitur mi ebruius intructus?*). See J. B. Hofmann, *Latinsische Umgangssprache* (1925) §11.

ἐνέσχευε: Dr Colomo notes that the initial *ic* could be taken as *i*; the only contrary indication is an apparent cross-bar joining the upright at mid-height. The sense seems favourable, e.g. which requires us to assume that the apparent diacritics are accidental or misused (cf. XXVII 2455, where it appears promiscuously on any initial vowel).

δὲθ σοι: the singular of δέθνη appears occasionally in documents (*DGE* lists X 1297 15, SB XVI 19473-7, 19049-3; at 1297 15 and LVI 3855 10 editors correct to δέθ(ω), perhaps wrongly). TLG produces a number of patristic examples; the one Leontius, *Vita Iovanni Eusebiou* 234 δέθ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, p. 370 δέθ, *εἶρα*, *Σωδρα*, *ἀφροῦσιν εἶρα* δέθωλ. At this stage δέθ functions as a verb, 'come on!'; see D. Tabachovitch, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* (1943) 7 n. 2. *coi* dative of interest? or *ci?* *coi* εἰς κομην; τὸ κερπυλῶν would make a likely place to go for provisions. The initial letters of 17 are blurred, but *εἰ* and *καρ*[ι][λ]ε[ι] seems not to fit, since the final trace strongly suggests *u* (WBH).

17 | καί: before this a long supralinear bar: an abbreviation within the speech rather than a character letter? WBH.

*coi*: dative of interest? or *coi*, cf. 16.

μαγερ|ι. *μαγε*-. After ρ|, room for one normal letter or two narrow. The context would suggest *μαγερ|ι* (1), which might refer to cooking utensils (Athen. 4.169a etc.). P. Turner s.v. 1.1-2) or to cooking ingredients (as clearly in the shopping list SB VI 9245.3). However, the mangled ink at the beginning of 18 does not allow *κα*; it looks most like *εἰς* βε. Alternatively, *τὶ μάγερ(οῦ)*, 'buy yourself a cook' (in the slave market), to replace the one whose cooking is elsewhere criticized (26 etc.). cf. → 26-μ[ι]γρον. The professional chef looms large in Comedy; see *RE* s.v. *μάγειρος*; H. Dohm, *Mageiros* (1964); J. C. B. Lowe, *Class. Ant.* 4 (1985) 72-102 on Plautine variations.

18 | εἰςββαλ . . . : perhaps *εἰςβαλλω* (with doubts about *ο*). Polyb. 4.81.9 *εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν εἰςβαλλω*. But what then? The traces before the break suggest *ε* or *ε* . . . The width of the break seems confirmed by the text on the other side, too wide for the simple *εἰςέσχευ(αι)*, too narrow for *εἰ(λ) εἰςέσχευ(αι)*. *εἰστω* 'anything' (MGR *εἰστω* *εἰστω*), again → 8. We have a scattering of examples in documentary texts (e.g. LVI 3870 5 *ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ δεῦξι καὶ μὴ εἴχομεν ὅτισπε προφῶν(αι)* from the fifth century on, mostly in negative clauses ('nothing')). Paalet 3313 gives a note on the medieval development.

φασίεν: cf. 25 φασίον, →8 and 19 φασίον. In view of the genitive το(ι) φασίον → 20, I have taken these as spellings of the noun φασί(ον), 'food', MGR φασί. This form goes back at least to the first century AD (P. Mich. V 246.2 *χωρ(ι) φασί(ον)*), and appears commonly in literary texts from the early



→

1. ξερ[  
 2. βκα[  
 3. ]γωσω[  
 4. ]ωιωμ[... ]ε κρα[  
 5. ] δ δ ... β ε ομ[  
 6. ] ε ειδετ[ ]οιεισντ. [  
 7. ]κανου ε ερχηως[  
 8. ] οιεριτιποτεφαγειν[  
 9. ]ειπλεγεις μοι πορηψω[  
 10. ]ψησες διδισμ[... ]δυοκ ε[  
 11. ]νεκ και βαστ[  
 12. ] λογου εξερχο[  
 13. ] και τερπατου[  
 14. ]ειερχομαι κλα[  
 15. ] σονμουδ κολλωναυστηθι ανειαστ[ ]εε. [  
 16. # εισερχομ] εγωωδε #βεξωθενκαι αναπο. [  
 17. ] ζονταν και λεγονταν απτ. σαρτοσαρτο. [  
 18. ] ακαιραυαζοντοσπιστουβ. αιβπιπτοντο. [  
 19. ] επανωτου ακαιρου. [...]. [...] φαγειν εε. [  
 20. ] παντα αγαθηνειστην ψυχην του φαγιου και [  
 21. ] τραγοντοσεζησικαι κισωπουντοσ ε νυσσον. [...]. [  
 22. ] αυνοιεπικαιδλεγοντοσ κνυρικα ψσεχι [  
 23. #βειτερχομ] και λεγοντοσ ωδ μετα κ ληλησ [  
 24. ] δειπορηψωλοφαγεδιατικ λυσεψησ. [  
 25. ] αναδιατικακωσ ησασ #κ[ ] αλι δ. [...] ζει. [  
 26. ] ειδε και αλλοσ κ ε νοναμου. [  
 27. ] ατιαντην ειρενεβαβακ. [  
 28. ] δοτικακωσ ησεν γ μακα. [  
 29. ] γιρον #βεξωθεν κολλωντοσ αν. [  
 30. ] δ ο θενοθεσ αποκτενωτα. τ. [  
 31. ] τοσ ιρο. ορεστηνηνεται η[  
 foot

2 ], long oblique rising from left to right 3 ], upper half of upright? ], left-hand arc of oval 6 ], lower hook of e or c? 7 ε, ink just below line level; further right, end of high horizontal 11 ], x, tiny horizontal trace on edge, at two-thirds height 12 ], top of oblique rising from left to right 16 # (first), the suprascript very faint 17 ζωντων, ω overwritten

on oc τ, left-hand arc of circle ], on edge point or left-hand tip of horizontal at two-thirds height 18 ε, no diacresis visible on the initial ε, but the surface above is damaged α, tip of oblique rising from left to right ], lower hook of e or c 19 ε, ], foot of upright or oblique sloping gently up to right 21 x, [...], first, doubtful trace (foot of upright?); second, lower hook of e or c 22 α, (first), tip of oblique descending from left to right a, (second), triangular top 24 ε, bottom arc 26 ου, confused ink, α corrected to or from ε? 27 ], lower part of diagonal rising from left to right 28 ], point level with letter-tops 30 ο., point at line level e., tip of oblique sloping down to right τ, top left-hand arc

→

1. ξερ[  
 2. β κα[  
 3. ] γωσω[  
 4. ] ωιωμ[... ] ε κρα[  
 5. ] δ δ ... β ε ομ[  
 6. ] ε ειδε ποιεις ου τ. [  
 7. ] καν ου εξερχη] ουσ [της αγορας, εισερχη, λε-  
 8. ] γεις] μοι ει τιποτε φαγειν; [και οτε παραω ου και  
 9. ] γενη, λγεις μοι, πορηψωλωφάγε, δια τι κακως  
 10. ] ψησες; διδισ μ[οι] δυο κ(σσοι) ε[  
 11. ] νεκ και βαστ[  
 12. ] λογου το(υ) εξερχο[  
 13. ] και τερπατου[  
 14. ] εισερχομαι κλα[  
 15. ] σον μου. α κολλων αυτω στηθι ανειαστ[ ]εε. [  
 16. ] το(υ) εισερχομ(ενου). εγω ωδε το(υ) β εξωθεν και β αναποδ[ι-  
 17. ] ζονταν και λεγονταν απτος απτος απτος. τ[ου  
 18. ] ακαιρου] γαρ ιζοντοσ οπισου του β και β πιπτοντοσ [  
 19. ] επανω του ακαιρου. [...]. [...] φαγειν εε [  
 20. ] παντα αγαθην εις την ψυχην ου το(υ) φαγιου και [  
 21. ] τραγοντοσ εξησικαι κισωπουντοσ ε νυσσον[ο]ε [  
 22. ] αυτον ειπε και α λεγοντοσ αυ κυρι καλωσ εχι;  
 23. ] το(υ) β εισερχομ(ενου) και λεγοντοσ τω α μετα κ(σσοι) ληλησ;  
 24. ] α ειπε, πορηψωλωφάγε, δια τι κακως εησες;  
 25. ] αυ αυ, δια τι κακως εησας; το(-) κ(σ(-) ) [ ] α. ζει. [  
 26. ] ειδε και αλλοσ κ(σσοι). ε νονα μου. ] ε8 δι-  
 27. ] α τι αυτην εδωρεσ, νεαβα το(-) κ. [  
 28. ] α οτι κακως εησεν. Γ μακα. [  
 29. ] γιρον το(υ) β εξωθεν κολλωτων αυτ[ ] ε12



10 Δ οἶδεν ὁ θεός, ἀποκέννω αὐτ. | ε12  
τοσιρο. Ὀρέστηρ πνέεται. Σ |

3-14 If the supplement in line 9 is correct, ε16 letters lost to the right.

4 κροα: WBH compares 25 κρόβεις, if that is rightly read.

5 δ . . . : probably διὰ τῆ; (WBH).

οα[: since this follows a pair of character-designations, perhaps ὁμοῦ 'together'.

6 εἴβε: I. ἰβε.

ποεῖς cō τὸν, cf. 423?

7 For the supplement see 424.

8 εἴ τιποτο φαγεῖν: 418 εἴ τις τιποτο φαγεῖν; cf. 25, ἐνί (ἐνεστ) often refers (without a specific dative of place) to the availability of supplies: ἀλλοί Thuc. 4.8 τίποτο ἐνόντοσ. See e.g. BKT X 13 ii 3 (mime?), P. Oslo III 159.16 (private letter) περὶ δὲ παύρων ἐνί παρ' ἡμῶν; Gignac, *Grammaire* ii 401-2.

At the line-end, ε16 letters are lost (3-14 n.). 425 (see note) has only παραθὼ σοῦ between φαγῶν and γένη. Here there must have been more, e.g. [καὶ οἱ παραθὼ σοῦ.

9 For the supplement see 24-5.

10 εἴψησσε: the second aorist termination here and in 24 and 426, but εἴψησας in 425.

διδεῖ μι[οι]: I. διδεῖσ/διδεῖσ from the thematic διδῶν/διδῶν, well attested in Byzantine literature and in documents (Gignac, *Grammaire* ii 382-3). Mandilaras, *The Verb* 387, argues from MGr διδῶν that the present should be understood as a simple thematic διδῶν, although some other forms apparently presuppose a contract διδεῖν.

διδο κό(σσοῦ): 'you give me two blons?' (box both my ears)? For this use of the verb, see 428 n. ε1: perhaps εἴθε σῖνος, cf. 427 (WBH).

12 ἐπ' ἀθρόνω τοῦ εἴρησε[μῆσσο]; Would that mean a scene-break? and does this section extend into 13, where εἴρησε verb might be uttered by one of the actors (but Τερπίο's proper name could also be thought of)?

14 εἰσέρχεται κλαῖ; e.g. κλαῖ[αυ (or κλαῖ[ουσα] καὶ λήγουσ καὶ 'αἶρη, ὀλέσ)]σεν.

15 κολῶν: see 414 n.

εἰρήθ, ανεασσε[ ]σε: εἰρήθ imperative, rather than I. εἰρήθε. An utterance by Δ? or much more likely a stage direction to him? For what follows I have no useful ideas. If 16 τοῦ εἰσέρχου(σῶν) ends a sentence, we need something to explain the genitive, on the lines of 'and get in the way of the person entering'. A further problem: the last entrance note (14) is in the first person. If this is the same, why did he not write μου rather than τοῦ εἰσέρχου(σῶν)?

16 ἐγὼ εἴθε: 'I act thus?' or 'I stay here' (after εἰρήθ)?

16-17 ἀναποβῆ[ ]ζόντων might mean 'making (me) step back' or intransitively 'stepping back'.

17 ἀστρο. Conceivably the (Latin) proper name Άστρος, found occasionally in Greek inscriptions (3 examples in *LGPV* IV and Va) and more often in Latin (e.g. 4 examples in H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavenamen* I 109); at XLII 3054 15 (if the editor's reconstruction is right) the slave Προκρίτων has had his name latinized as Άστρος. But why three times? Greek ἀστρος occurs mainly in philosophical contexts, mostly with ὁρατός, meaning 'tangible'. How could that fit here? 'Caught! Caught! Caught!', as one might say in a game of Blind Man's Buff (μῦθα χαλεπὴ and variants, Pöhlx 9.123, Headlam on Herondas 1x(a), p. 405)? That would fit ἀναποβῆζόντων in the sense 'making (someone) turn back'.

ε[οῦ, or perhaps ε].

18 ἀκαίροσ, again in 19. For ἀκαίροσ as a human type, the man who never does what is right for the occasion, see Theophr. *Char.* xii with Diggle's introduction; Herondas 6.80, where Headlam's

note lists other references. I have not found it as a proper name in *LGPV*, though it could easily be found as a speaking name; certainly the character has comic possibilities, Alciphr. 3.26.1 ἀλλ' ἔκορησθεῖς ἐνὶ ἀκαίροσ ἐλ καὶ λάλοσ. 'The Akairos sits down behind the standing Beta, and Beta, stepping back, trips over him and falls on top of him' WBH.

ἡρᾶ seems out of place in a series of performance directions: perhaps to be emended to παρῖοντοσ? WBH.

19 [ . . . ] [ . . . ]: the initial trace is of an oblique descending from left to right, touching the right-hand tip of υ (unusually close): λ, γ, χ? or initial ι with heavy diacresis? or simply the downturned end of the overlining (WBH)? φαγεῖν should refer to the eater (Δ?) or to the provider of catables.

εε[: there is no clear trace of a horizontal above the first ε, which would identify it as a character-numeral. Is it the exclamation ε ε, as at 146? But a clear trace follows, of what would normally be the last or penultimate letter of the line. Perhaps εε[π4, or better Εε[δ4, beginning the direct speech in 20, 'Look, here's everything' (WBH).

20 πάντα ἀγαθὸν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν σοῦ τοῦ εἰ φαγῶν. Someone (perhaps Ε; see 19 n.) wishes the diner (Δ) *bon appétit!* But there is the difficulty of concord, unless πάντα (a certain reading: not πᾶν τὸ) ends its clause εἴθε πάντα.; see 19 n. I have found no clear parallel for what ought to be a conventional usage. The wording recalls Ecclesiastes 2.24 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποσ πλὴν [Στ': κληρ. ο.ett.] δ φάγεσται καὶ δ πνεῦμα καὶ δ βελίξῃ τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὸν ἐν μέσθω αὐτοῦ, a passage widely quoted (with minor variants) in the Fathers.

τοῦ εἰ φαγῶν: see 18 n.

καὶ Δ seems required, although the space is tight: since Δ complains about the food (24), he must be the silent consumer in 21.

21 πρῶτοντοσ εἴρησε, 'chewing madly'. The adverb is not attested in TLG, but numerous examples of the adjective, which seems to pass from 'uttering loudly' to 'babbling' to 'crazy', see Lampe s.v.

καὶ σιωπῶντοσ: the participle as if from σιωπέω. TLG quotes three late examples, and documentary papyri provide evidence for the merger of verbs in -ωω and -ωω which is complete in MGr: see e.g. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 55(a), Gignac, *Grammaire* ii 363-4. This would naturally apply to the crazy eater before, rather than to Ε.

νέσσο[ο]ε: 'prodding', 'poking'? But the verb can extend to actual wording (Εἰς. *Joh.* 19.34).

22 εἴθε (so rather than εἴθε): here and in 24 this might be an instruction to the actor, or as WBH suggests a word spoken by him (stage directions are normally phrased in the second person singular indicative, e.g. →3 λέγεσ). If the second, Δ eats in silence, Ε mutes him/her and says 'Speak!', Δ replies (λέγοντοσ picking up εἴθε), then Β comes in and reacts to Δ's talking (λαλεῖσ).

αἱ κῆρ καλῶσ εἴη (I. εἴη): statement or question? As things stand, Ε pokes Δ (if Δ is rightly restored at the end of 20), and Δ replies with αἰ (cf. 23); καλῶσ εἴη might mean 'That's all right' (i.e. 'That's enough?') or 'Are things all right?' (i.e. 'Why are you doing this?'). Alternatively we could take καλῶσ εἴησ as a question about the food, 'Is it OK?', but in that case the character-numeral Δ must be a mistake, and it is not clear why the explosive reply is delayed until 24.

23 μετὰ κό(σσοῦ), or κὼ(σσοῦ), then λαλεῖσ, I. λαλεῖσ? This could be understood in more than one way: (i) μετὰ κό(σσοῦ) as part of the narrative, Β punches Δ and says 'Are you talking?'; (ii) μετὰ κό(σσοῦ) as part of the speech, Β says to Δ, 'So you talk when you are punched?' (so NG).

24 εἴθε: probably the first word of the speech (WBH), rather than an instruction to the actor, cf. 22 n. The female character addressed might be Β or Ε, yet both these carry masculine participles; elsewhere Β is addressed as κῆρη (422), and probably Ε also (→22). This would make them male both as actors and as characters, if the narrator makes this distinction. If this argument holds, πῶρον addresses a third (female) character—unless it is directed to a male by way of deliberate insult.



1 cm, leaving a very ample interlinear space. Cf. e.g. I. 3533, Menander, *Epitrepontes*, whose hand is vaguely comparable to ours, and the earlier P. Köln VIII 328, with hexameters, both copied on the back of documents: the clumsy writing and the use of space and signs for separating syllables in the latter suggest that this may be a school exercise. (I am grateful to G. Ucciardello for suggesting these examples for comparison.)

The hand is very similar, indeed arguably identical to that of XXX 2513 and LIII 3698; the similarity extends to the size of the letters, despite a clear difference in leading. Each of those pieces offers a single fragment with hexameter lines written on the back of a documentary text. 2513 was probably, and 3698 certainly, found during Grenfell and Hunt's second season at Oxyrhynchus, and there are good arguments for treating them as part of a single roll, see 3698 introd. The subject of 2513 is obscure; 3698 treats Argonautic themes, like 5190. Scholars have noted a strong Homeric tincture in both, and considered attributing them to a known archaic poem, see below pp. 45–6.

Unlike 5190, 2513 and 3698 do generally mark elision, though they omit to do so at least twice (2513 27, 3698 24). The corrections by a second hand in 5190 fr. 3 and 4 mentioned above are paralleled by those in 2513 ('taken perhaps wrongly to be by a different hand' by Lobel; cf. also the letter crossed out in line 32 of that same papyrus). I am not so sure, judging by photographs, that the addition above the line in 3698 15 'is added by the copyist himself', as the editor suggests. The (relatively common) itacistic spelling *οπειλιος* occurs in both 2513 27 and 5190 fr. 1.8. There are some noticeable differences between 5190 and 2513 + 3698. (1) In 5190 the letters are less widely spaced and more often ligatured. (2) The document on the reverse of 5190 looks different from those on the reverse of 2513 + 3698. This does not necessarily mean very much, since the recycled roll may have been patched together using more than one document; note, though, that in 2513 and 3698, unlike 5190, the documentary text is upside down in relation to the literary verso. These first two points are not decisive. The most important difference is that (3) in 5190 the line-spacing is nearly double that in 2513 and 3698 (the 9 lines of fr. 1 occupying roughly the same height as 17 lines in 2513 and 3698), a difference far greater than that usually attested within, for example, the book-rolls examined by Johnson, *Bookrolls and scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 56, who mentions the case of 3156 + 3669, with a 17% variation, as exceptional, among the 'aberrant examples'. This implies that 5190, even if copied by the same scribe, does not belong to the same roll as 2513 + 3698. Indeed, the difference even makes it unlikely that our fragments come from a different book-roll of the same poem, as sets of books by the same author copied by a single scribe do not show such remarkable differences in their format (ibid. 16–37). The similarity of script, and the possible overlap of subject, however, open up interesting avenues of research, which are explored in an appendix below.

Fr. 1 is the only fragment whose context can be reconstructed to some extent. It seems to describe the organization of an athletic competition, quite probably at Iolkos. The most obvious assumption is that it dealt with the famous funery games in honour of Pelias, in which most of the Argonauts took part after their return to Thessaly. The possible overlap of fr. 2.3 with a line from the catalogue of the Argonauts in Apollonius Rhodius (1.95) introducing one of the heroes said to have participated later in the Games suggests that fr. 2 may have had a similar context (see commentary), and it is just possible that fr. 4 may have mentioned another of the athletes taking part in the games (see fr. 4.3 n.). Since so little is preserved, the presence of a few words not attested before fifth-century BC prose or Hellenistic poetry (cf. on fr. 1.6 and 8, and on fr. 2.1 and 2; fr. 2.3 might even be interpreted as a borrowing from A.R.) suggests that these are not fragments of an archaic poem. In any case, whenever a sequence of words can be reconstructed, the style sounds fairly traditional with no obvious *recherché* traits.

The funery games for Pelias were a popular theme in the visual arts at least from the sixth century BC, and featured prominently also on the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia (cf. the description in Pausanias 5, 17.9–11). They are referred to frequently enough in mythographic sources, but there are not many explicit references to their appearance in specific poetic texts. A lyric poem on this subject was attributed to either Stesichorus (*PMGF* 178–80) or Ibycus (cf. E. Cingano, *AION* 12 (1990) 19; and n. 8; G. Ucciardello in S. Grandolini (ed.), *Lirica e teatro in Grecia* (2005) 21 and n. 1; parts of XXXV 2735 = Ibycus *PMGF* S166–219 have been attributed by various scholars to a poem by either author dealing with, or at least mentioning these games), and Simonides *PMG* 564 = 273 Poltera mentioned the victory of Meleager in the javelin-throwing contest, quoting Stesichorus and Homer as his predecessors. It has been conjectured that the episode might have been included in Eumelus' *Korinthiaka* (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hellenistische Dichtung* II (1924) 241–3; P. Von der Mühl, *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias* (1952) 358–9; P. Grossardt, *Die Erzählung von Meleagros* (2001) 60–61; A. Debiasi, *ZPE* 153 (2005) 51–5). But the likelihood that this poem included a detailed narration of the first Isthmian games, featuring several of the same participants, tells rather against than in favour of this hypothesis, especially if we keep in mind that the two events would both come at the end of the expedition of the Argonauts (*contra* Debiasi, loc. cit. 55). An issue possibly to be kept distinct from the previous one is whether, if we accept for the sake of the argument that the event was indeed narrated in the *Korinthiaka*, Simonides may have attributed this poem, so strongly linked to a Corinthian context, to 'Homer' (so again Debiasi, preceded by Von der Mühl), a distinctly unlikely hypothesis, in my opinion. The only piece of evidence connecting the events at Iolkos following the expedition to a poem by 'Homer' is fr. 7. B. = 6 D., attributed to ὁ τοῦ Νέβρουκ ποιεῖσθαι in the hypothesis to Eur. *Med.* This is the episode of the magic rejuvenation of Jason's father, Aison, at the hands of Medea.

In other sources (cf. *Ov. Met.* 7) this is the necessary premise for the trick she uses for killing Pelias, and it has been debated whether this could actually be compatible with a version of the myth where the Games were held in honour of the dead king, even if both episodes are well attested already in the archaic period (see e.g. Wilamowitz, loc. cit.). How this could be fitted into the *Nostoi* remains mysterious. It has been argued that Medea may have appeared as part of a description of famous heroines in the underworld (e.g. G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (1969) 165; for the possible presence of an underworld scene in the poem cf. now also M. L. West, *The Epic Cycle* (2013) 272–82). The possibility should perhaps be mentioned that these Argonautica episodes may have been narrated retrospectively in a digressive speech by Nestor, if the tradition according to which he was one of the Argonauts has any likelihood of going back to the archaic period. The only ancient author to include him among the crew is Valerius Flaccus,<sup>1</sup> who is usually credited by modern scholars as the originator of this story. The fact that his brother Periclymenus, who appears in most lists of the Argonauts, is killed by Heracles during the siege of Pylus, when Nestor was only a child (cf. Hes. fr. 35 MW), is thought to be incompatible with this. On the other hand, according to some traditions (including A.R.), Achilles was already born when the Argonauts left and this would certainly make Nestor's inclusion at least chronologically conceivable. A very corrupt scholion on Pi. *Ol.* 13.31a exemplifies the musical and martial glories of Corinth quoting one Eumolpus of Corinth 'who wrote *The Return of the Greeks*'. In the context, the name has been corrected into that of Eumelus since the Renaissance, but, even if this is correct, this is a very flimsy foundation upon which to build the hypothesis that this scholion referred not to the well known poem on the *Nostoi* of the Achaeans after the war of Troy, usually attributed to Agias of Troezen or to Homer (note that Sud. s.v. *vōcroc* explicitly attributes the *Nostoi* to more than a single author), but to the portion of Eumelus' *Korinthiaka* dealing with the return of the Argonauts, to which also the fragment about Aison's rejuvenation would belong (so Debiasi, *ζΡΕ* 143 (2003) 4 and n. 31).

To judge by language and style, however, it is unlikely that our fragments actually represent the remains of an archaic poem, and it is reasonable to assume that the theme was treated or mentioned in a number of later epic works that may have left no trace in the preserved tradition.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nestor is listed among the Argonauts also by Petrach in his biography of Jason in *De viris illustribus*, composed well before the text of Valerius Flaccus became generally available (I am grateful to C. Malta for pointing this out to me; on the very scanty circulation of Valerius in later antiquity and the Middle Ages cf. A. Zissos, *JCT* 13.2 (2006) 165–73). Nestor is one of the Argonauts also in the Middle Irish *Togataí Trí* (10th century?); B. Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland* (2011) 67 (I am grateful to WBH for drawing my attention to this). This suggests at least the possibility that Nestor's inclusion among the Argonauts might have had wider currency in lost antique sources.

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to W. B. Henry for improvements in the interpretation of some traces.

*Appendix: on the possible links of 5190 with 2513 and 3698.*

The possibility that our papyrus may have been written by the same hand as **2513** and **3698** opens up research avenues that should be at least tentatively explored. In his edition of **2513**, Lobel drew attention to its 'indubitable' Homeric tincture', but refrained from formulating any hypothesis about its origin. R. Janko, *ζΡΕ* 49 (1982) 25–9, attempted a reconstruction of its content as a description of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, and tentatively attributed it to the *Cypria*, though adding a salutary reminder that there are no criteria 'by which we can distinguish between cyclic hexameters and "bad" late hexameters' (25). **3698**, apparently by the same hand and in the same format, seems incompatible with this hypothesis, as it contains a first person account of an Argonautic episode. Haslam, the editor of this latter fragment, mentioned the *Naupaktia* as a possible source, without discussing the problem of how **2513** could fit within that poem. Debiasi, *ζΡΕ* 153 (2005), speculated that **3698** might have been part of Eumelus' *Korinthiaka*, and more recently (*ζΡΕ* 184 (2013) 21–36) has argued that **2513** too (for which he accepts the general lines of Janko's reconstruction) must belong to that poem. The actual evidence that he musters in favour of his conjecture that Eumelus' poem dealt at any length with Trojan themes, however, is very thin at best (fr. g Bernabé, not explicitly attributed to the poem, mentions a son of Menelaus and a Cretan nymph), and, while it is obviously impossible to rule out that it did, it remains a very weak candidate for the attribution of **2513** (if this indeed narrated the Iphigeneia episode). The idea that both fragments may belong to the *Korinthiaka* remains an only vaguely possible, but not *prima facie* particularly likely hypothesis. The content of **2513** is very uncertain, but the apparent mention of an Argive female character at line 26 implies a Trojan or, at least, a non-Argonautic setting, and a few clues do suggest that it may deal with winds and sacrifice, while *νεία* at line 14 favours indeed the hypothesis that this may have to do with Iphigeneia (even if there are theoretical alternative supplements). In a purely hypothetical vein, we may play with the idea that both fragments may belong to the *Nostoi*. **2513** would be from a section providing a flashback about the early stages of the expedition (unless, after all, it was about the sacrifice of Polyxena). **3698**, on the other hand, as we saw, is puzzlingly and interestingly, a first-person account, which, with some good will, could be attributed to a speech by Nestor, reminiscing about his youthful expedition. It is also possible, of course, that both fragments may belong to a 'bad' late poem, though even in that case the link between them would require an explanation (and from this point of view, Debiasi's speculations about marriage and the Black Sea providing a possible link are interesting).

Whatever the right solution for the old fragments, the new ones complicate the picture in an intriguing way. Based on their content alone, it would not be too difficult to attribute them to the same poem as **3698**, but, even if we accept the

possibility that they may be by the same hand (and the scantiness of the preserved fragments itself makes this uncertain), their different layout strongly suggests that they were not part of the same book-roll. Indeed, as we saw above, they are unlikely even to be fragments of a different book-roll of the same poem. If, after all, we accept the idea that a single scribe may have produced two different sets of the same work, and that this was indeed an archaic poem, both the *Korinthiaka* and the *Naxoi* would be candidates, problematic in different ways, for the attribution. The linguistic evidence, however, suggests that 5190 is more likely to represent the remains of a later poem, perhaps copied by a non-professional scribe with interests in the Argonaucic saga or (especially if 2513 and 3698 do not belong to the same poem) more generically in heroic epic.

Fr. 1

]. [ ]<sub>ω</sub>  
 ]. ω  
 ]. (.)π[. . . ]<sub>ν</sub>τ<sub>ρ</sub>  
 ]<sub>ν</sub>ι. . . [ . . . ]<sub>ρ</sub>ο<sub>c</sub>  
 5 ]<sub>ρ</sub>αντα<sub>ρ</sub>[. . . ]<sub>τ</sub>α  
 ]η<sub>λ</sub>ια, α<sub>τ</sub>. [ . . . ]<sub>λ</sub>ιπ<sub>π</sub>ο  
 ]δε<sub>μ</sub>ε<sub>σ</sub>σ<sub>α</sub>ο<sub>α</sub>β<sub>λ</sub>α  
 ]μο<sub>θ</sub>ν<sub>ε</sub>ο<sub>c</sub>[ ]<sub>μ</sub>ει<sub>λ</sub>ο<sub>c</sub>  
 ]<sub>λ</sub>ι<sub>c</sub>β<sub>η</sub>ς<sub>α</sub><sub>ρ</sub>[ ]<sub>ω</sub>λ<sub>κ</sub>ο<sub>υ</sub>

Fr. 2

]<sub>α</sub>νε<sub>κ</sub>β<sub>α</sub>τ[  
 ]<sub>ο</sub>κε<sub>ρ</sub>α[  
 ]<sub>π</sub>ι<sub>ν</sub>θ<sub>ε</sub>α<sub>ρ</sub>[  
 ]<sub>ς</sub>υ<sub>ν</sub>η<sub>ς</sub>[  
 5 ]<sub>ο</sub>φ<sub>η</sub>[

Fr. 3

1 ], a cross-bar at mid-line level on the edge, perhaps ε φ, ]<sub>ρ</sub> also possible 2 ], a puzzling trace: the two lower parts with the right-hand end of an angle on the line and the right-hand end of a small loop strongly suggest β, with the vertical starting higher than the end of the loop; the only other clearly preserved β, at fr. 2.1, and those in 2513 look different; WBH suggests reading Δ with a superscript. A small gap at the end, not wide enough for 1 3 ], (.), feet of two uprights, both curled toward right: η rather than ε? τ<sub>ρ</sub>, γ also possible τ rather than π or γ 4 ]<sub>η</sub> rather than λ 5 ], the upper and lower tips of two oblique or slightly inclined strokes on the edge of the gap: perhaps κ, κ, or η . . . tiny scattered traces high and low in the line on largely damaged surface, the last conceivably the top of an oblique 5 ], traces on disturbed fibres, η only a possibility ρ, [ of ρ only the upper part; traces high in the line, conceivably compatible with the upper left part of ε ], apparently a cross-bar followed by the lower half of an upright 6 ]<sub>λ</sub> prima facie more likely than η (first), perhaps the second upright of η or π τ, γ followed by an upright (perhaps 1, but ρ also possible), or π . [ perhaps the upper right-hand part of a round letter ]<sub>λ</sub>, the end of a descending oblique: the shape suggests λ 8 ], a narrow space

Fr. 2

1 β, the base is damaged, but there seems to be no real alternative 2 ], upright hooked to right at foot, with a possible dot on the line just before 3 ], the shape of the curved tail, starting as an upright at the top, identifies this letter as λ (WBH), ruling out π or κ 4 ], only the tip of the cap 5 ], upright and apparently start of a cross-bar at mid-height

Fr. 3

]<sub>ς</sub>α<sub>ρ</sub>[  
 ]<sub>τ</sub>. . . ]<sub>ρ</sub>χ[<sub>ς</sub>]<sub>τ</sub>. [  
 ]<sub>ς</sub>η<sub>ρ</sub>κο<sub>c</sub> [  
 ]<sub>ρ</sub>ε<sub>υ</sub>[. ]<sub>η</sub>υ[

Fr. 4

. . . ]<sub>λ</sub>υ[  
 ]<sub>ε</sub>ι<sub>ν</sub>χ<sub>ο</sub>λ<sub>ο</sub>υ[  
 ]<sub>λ</sub>α<sub>c</sub>[<sub>ς</sub>] <sub>ς</sub>α<sub>ρ</sub>ε<sub>c</sub>[  
 . . . ]<sub>ρ</sub>ε<sub>α</sub>τ<sub>c</sub>[

Fr. 3

1 ]<sub>ς</sub> much more likely than κ or κ υ[ almost certain (though fibres damaged) 2 ]<sub>τ</sub>, first possibly also τ, perhaps preceded or followed by a mark of punctuation high in the line (if the preceding sign belongs to this letter, it may be υ), with space for two (or conceivably three) letters before ρ (damaged but very likely): in the middle of the space, traces of an upright, perhaps with a high horizontal at its right (r or c?) ε crossed out by an ascending diagonal stroke in paler ink . [ only a speck above the level of the line 3 The second letter has a roundish appearance and apparently has a cross-bar, suggesting ε After ηκο: a narrow blank space, not wide enough to establish certain line end 4 Of υ only top of left branch

Fr. 4

1 ], a trace on the line closely followed by upper and lower arcs of a circle (o?) ]<sub>η</sub> more likely than κ 2 υ[, an upright with a thickening suggesting the start of a descending oblique 3 ]<sub>λ</sub>, descending oblique: gradient suggests λ ε crossed out by an ascending diagonal stroke and η added above, both in a paler ink 4 ], left part of round letter, not excluding ο or ω 4 ]... letter tops: first, a high right-hand arc, perhaps e.g. β, ρ, π: these would be taller than usual, but cf. on fr. 1.2 for a possible tall β; next, the start of a descending oblique, slightly lower, then the top of a taller upright, perhaps with traces of a rounded portion just where the papyrus breaks, or (more probably) the slightly curved and thickened top of a descending oblique: the last two may belong to a single η

Fr. 5

]δ<sub>δ</sub>α<sub>ς</sub>[  
 ]<sub>ε</sub>ο<sub>τ</sub>α[  
 ]<sub>ν</sub>ρ<sub>α</sub>τ<sub>υ</sub>[

Fr. 6

] <sub>ο</sub>ι<sub>ρ</sub>[  
 ]<sub>ρ</sub>ε<sub>υ</sub>[  
 ]<sub>τ</sub>ε<sub>π</sub>[

Fr. 7

] <sub>ω</sub>. ]<sub>τ</sub>τ[  
 ]<sub>ο</sub>η<sub>ς</sub>. [

Fr. 8

] <sub>ν</sub>ο[  
 ] <sub>α</sub>π[

Fr. 5

2 ], the right hand part of a somewhat flattened round letter rather than an upright ε[, left-hand arc of circle, ο and ω possible but less likely (a brownish shade above the trace does not seem to be ink) 3 ]<sub>η</sub>, only the top, κ a possible alternative ε rather than η η rather than τ η[ the high top of a descending oblique: if not υ, perhaps a punctuation sign

Fr. 6

1 ], τ or γ ο[, ω a possible alternative 3 ]<sub>τ</sub>[, the horizontal joined by the top of the first upright: τ a possible alternative 2 ]<sub>ρ</sub> with a narrow loop (as probably in fr. 5.3)

Fr. 7

1 ], rubbed traces on damaged surface; tail (e.g. α) touching η ]<sub>τ</sub>[, an upright and trace of the left-hand part of the horizontal 2 ]<sub>η</sub>, ω less likely ε rather than τ . [ high trace?

| Fr. 9   | Fr. 10 | Fr. 11    | Fr. 12  |
|---------|--------|-----------|---------|
| ] . . [ | ]κα[   | ] . εχεν[ | ] . τε[ |
| ]ε . [  |        |           | ] . [   |
| ]ς . [  |        |           | ] . . [ |
|         |        |           | ] . [   |

Fr. 9  
 1 ] . . [ , lower part of λ or λ followed by foot of an upright  
 than the previous letter and slightly curved toward right, suggesting κ or π 2 ] . [ , an upright no taller  
 than the previous letter and slightly curved toward right, suggesting κ or π 3 ] . [ , top of upright

Fr. 11  
 1 ] . . , right-hand part of flattened circular letter, or of loop at mid-height (as of ρ) After the  
 first 4, only the extremities of the two diagonals, but their different extension makes it certain that this  
 was a x rather than a κ

Fr. 12  
 1 ] . . , stroke suggesting the end of a cross-bar or of a flattened descending oblique, not touching  
 the following letter (but the surface is damaged) 2 ] . [ , a small round letter, or conceivably traces  
 belonging to two separate letters (the second being e.g. λ) 3 ] . . , high rather than middle-height  
 cross-bar, e.g. ρ, τ; tight loop, ρ or a small ο 4 ] . [ , traces of an upright high in the line 4 ] . [ ,  
 just a speck of ink

Fr. 1  
 1 A word ending in -]ε[]ων?  
 2 Either a case of omitted iota adscript (if it was not, indeed, squeezed into the lost portion of  
 papyrus), or a form of a first person verb, such as λείβω, or ἀμβέλω, which, in the context, does not  
 stand at first sight promising (there is no reason to accept the possibility of a Doric genitive here). PJP  
 suggests also the possibility of the dual ἐφίβω.  
 3 Apparently a verbal form ending in -ων; if we take fr. 12 into account (see commentary ad  
 loc.), παρώνω would be the most obvious possibility, but, judging from the present shape of the frag-  
 ment, πα would be too widely spaced. Various forms of the verb occur in epic poetry, but this one is  
 attested only in Hesychius.

5 If fr. 12 does not belong here, the obvious supplement would be ἀνὰρ εἴ[π]ε[ι]τα.  
 6 In this context the first word is very likely to have been κεμ[ε]ήλια (rather than γαμ[ε]ήλια).  
 The singular indicates a prize already at the funerary games for Patroklos at *Il.* 23.618, and cf. also  
 Xenophanes 2.9 W. The plural occurs in relation to contest prizes apparently in Hes. fr. 75.23 MW  
 and certainly in Nonn. *Dion.* 37.615, of funerary offerings in Q.S. 3.722. I assume that the word at the  
 end of the line must have been (ἀ)λέ(ε)ωντο, but it is more difficult to make sense of the traces in be-  
 tween: πατω would not be a satisfactory reading, and would not leave enough space for the following  
 expected λέ; πασι too would be problematic (I would find it difficult to reconcile the relevant traces  
 with sigma), but would leave more space for the following word. παρσι (λελειπτο) would be more  
 easily compatible with the traces, apart from the ι. παρσος (λελειπτο) is on the whole more promising.  
 Both supplements would still leave little space for the ending of the noun and the beginning of the  
 following verb, but they could conceivably just have been squeezed in. All in all, κεμ[ε]ήλια παρσ[ε]φ[ε]

1]λ(ι)ωντο (with παρσ[ε]φ[ε] referring to Pelias) seems to me the least unsatisfactory solution. The form  
 λεωντο is not attested before A.R.

7 ἀβλα must indicate the prizes: cf. *Il.* 23.704 ἀνὰρ δὲ νικηθέντι γυναιε' ἐκ μέσσοι εἴθε, Q.S.  
 4.180f. Θέτις δ' ἐκ μέσσοι ἀγώνη / θήκεν ἄρ' ἀμφὶ δρόμοιο βλάς δίκαι and Nonn. *Dion.* 37.549f. τίθει  
 δ' ἐκ μέσσοι ἀέλαρ / ἀνθεμέντω Μβηγα χροεῖσι φωνί φιλέσσοι (so we must assume that a form of  
 τίθημι, with Akastos as its subject, is lost in the gap).

8 δόνειος is not attested before the fifth century BC, and in hexameter poetry not before the  
 Hellenistic period.

9 For the form ἀλλέθρον in this metrical *sedes* cf. *Il.* 19.54, for the verb with δμολος 15.588.

Fr. 2  
 1 ἀνεβανος is not attested before the fifth century BC, and occurs in poetry only in Lyco-  
 phon and Oppian (one occurrence in a fourth-century AD verse inscription from Phrygia: SGO III  
 16/31/90.5). Alternative articulations include αν εκβα[ρ] (an even rarer and later word) and -αν εκ  
 βα[ρ]- (perhaps Βαρ[ῆ]θεν, cf. Hesych. s.v. ἐκ θήμιου Βαρῆς, τῆς Αἰγυθίδος φύλης (only here but possibly  
 a mere mistake for the attested Βαρῆθεν?), in view of the possible Attic connection in line 3? but the  
 mention of the deme would sit awkwardly in a mythological context).

2 -]σοι κερά[τ]- (WBH). κερά[τ]- is not found before Aratus and Nicander (and a vl. in Call.  
*H.* 2.60). For the pattern found here, with -σοι preceding, cf. Q.S. 6.225, 238, 11.102, Nonn. *Dion.*  
 2.283, 11.80, 27.220, 44.150.

3 ]παρθενα[ overlaps with A.R. 1.95-6 τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ Κεκροσίτην ἀρίστος ἦλαθε Βούτης / παῖς  
 ἀγαθὸς Τελέσστος, ἐμμελίης τε Φάληρος. The alternative ]παη θένω[ , suggested by A. Harder,  
 seems a much less likely articulation; in the light of the A.R. passage I would also consider ]παρθενα[  
 (WBH; Steph. Byz. s. 337) a far less appealing solution. In A.R., Boutes did not get back to Greece,  
 and could not have been involved in the games at Iolkos, but it is a remarkable coincidence that one  
 of the athletes competing in the Games for Pelias on the Chest of Cyprus (as read by Pausanias 5.17)  
 is a Phalareus, quite probably the same character as A.R.'s Phaleros, Φάληρος, though this fragment  
 too may be dealing with the same subject. In this case ἀρ[ε]νός ἦλαθε (vel sim.) Φάληρος could provide  
 a possible ending for our line. There are other (at first sight less promising) candidates from the same  
 region: Hyginus 273 includes two Attic heroes in his list of winners of the games for Pelias: Cephalus,  
 son of Deion (married to the Athenian Procris), and Eumolpus, son of Poseidon, from Eleusis.  
 Favorinus' list of the victors at the first Isthmian games, on the other hand, features Theseus (*Cor.*  
 = Dio Chryz. 37.44-15).

4 κύν ἦ(ε)σι (a sequence not attested elsewhere, but theoretically possible) or, more probably,  
 -κύνω[.

Metrical position (WBH): caesura before ] ἀνεβα[ρ]- (ι), after -]σοι (σ), -]παρθε[ν (3), -]σύνω[  
 (-]σύνω[σ] or -]σύνω[σ] (σ) (4).

Fr. 3  
 2 A form of ἀργεφόντ- corrected to ἀργεφόντ-, following Didymus' prescription (fr. 2 Schmidt,  
 cf. *Et. Gen.* s.v.), rather than out of mere litic confusion. If so, we are close to the end of the line,  
 with (e.g.) δὲ νήσοι and εἰ[π]ήν in 3 and 4.

Fr. 4  
 2 ]ειν might be the ending of several nouns or adjectives, as well as of the optative of a few  
 verbs. There are too many options to list the possibilities in such a fragmentary context.

3 Perhaps φίλακεε (metrically impossible) was corrected to φιλοκαεε, the common noun,  
 or, more likely, the town from which the Argonaut Iphicles, the victorious runner in the Games

according to Pausanias' reading of Cypselus's Chest, came? The corrected text rules out a form of *ἀριετός* for the following word, but other possibilities are available, such as the adjective *ἀριετιμος*, the noun *ἀριετών* (or one of its derivatives), or, perhaps, elided *ἀρ' αἰ*]. If we are dealing with Iphiklos, perhaps e.g. *ἀρ Φυλάκτηρ ἀριετιμος*.

Given the mention of *χόλος*, it is perhaps conceivable that this may be a reference to the previous history of the character, and, more precisely, to the way Iphiklos's sexual impotence was healed by Melampus *θεός*. . . *θεός τοῖς μυρίασι ὑπὲρ τῆς γυνά τετραπόδιαν εἰκονίσας* (sch. vet. ad *Od.* 11.290: the story appeared in different versions in various archaic poems, probably including the *Melampodia*). If the context was a catalogue of heroes and Iphiklos was introduced only in line 3, on the other hand, it is of course also possible that the *χόλος* had nothing to do with him.

4 *μέγα τε εἰ*: e.g. *μέγα τε εἰθέος* (possibly in a periphrasis as at A.R. 1.531 *Ἠλικόος μέγα τε εἰθέος Ἡρακλήος*) rather than the Homeric formula *μέγα τε εἰγαβάρην τε* (WBH, to whom the reading *εἰ* is due).

## Fr 5

2 The traces of the first letter look slightly easier to interpret as the lower part of the right-hand section of a round letter than as an upright: so, perhaps, ] *θειοστ*[r- (the superlative is apparently first attested in fifth-century prose, and in poetry not before the later Hellenistic period, but the comparative *θειώτερα* appears already in the *Odyssē*) rather than e.g. *ἀφ*] *θειοστ*[r- or *τθβ*] *θειοστ*? The articulations -ei or- and ] *ειο* r- are possible alternatives.

3 ] *κρατ*] is a possible interpretation of the traces. This may lead to the hypothesis that the line continued with fr. 3.2, to be read as ] *κρατρεσσον*] *εἰ*] *φ*] *οστ*], with the first traces in fr. 3.2 interpreted as γ rather than as τ. But as far as I can see, fr. 3.1 is not a possible continuation of fr. 3.2.

## Fr 12

In a previous restoration fr. 12 had been placed in fr. 1 at the level of lines 3-6. This produces the following result in lines 3-5 (fr. 12 is given in bold; see also comm. on these lines in fr. 1):

] (.) γ [.] . τ ρ ε ] . τ ρ ρ  
 ] π . . [.] [.] . ] ρ ο c  
 5 ] γ α σ τ α ρ . . ε ρ α

Its collocation was suggested by the appearance of the fibres on the recto, and by the possibility that a trace in the first line of the recto may represent the right-hand side of the numeral λ visible on fr. 1 (but a speck of ink above it does not seem to fit). I am not sure, though, that this makes it unquestionable. At any rate, if this arrangement were accepted, the reconstruction of lines 3 and 5 would be less tractable (see comm. ad loc.).

G. B. D'ALESSIO

## 5191. LYRIC

72/55(a)

11.4 × 15 cm

Third/fourth century

A column-top with upper margin about 2.2 cm high and remains of sixteen lines. The back is blank except for some ink stains near the foot. The space between lines is 0.25-0.5 cm deep, with a slightly larger gap of 0.6-0.7 cm between lines 8 and 9 and between lines 13 and 14.

The fragment is written in an informal, somewhat irregular hand, generally upright, generally bilinear (1 and p project below the line, φ above and below). A certain cursive tendency shows in line-final α and c, which prolong their horizontal elements to the right, and in the frequent ligatures (notably after α ε λ μ τ). α sometimes has its upper element written in a single movement together with the cross-bar, sometimes added as a separate oblique. τ appears twice in the formal shape, with strongly curved right-hand upright (2, 14), otherwise cursorily as a simple arch.

Dating the hand is complicated by its irregularity, whether we see it as a bookhand with cursive elements or as a formalized cursive. Provisionally I should set it at the frontier between the Roman and Byzantine periods. For datable parallels in (sub)literary texts, see LXIII 4352 (hexameters mentioning Zeus Kapitoliος), dated by its content c.285; more cursive and more developed forms in LXXV 5063 (late m?) and in *GREBP* 9a (388). Cf. also P. Ant. I 15 (iv?).

Diaeresis marks initial vowels in 5 and 6; in 10 its function is unclear. Elision is indicated in at least one instance (10) and possibly in a second (5, in lighter ink); no certain example of unmarked elision or *scriptio plena*. There are traces of two accents: one grave or circumflex (5, in lighter ink) and one apparent acute (10); see also 2 n. If lines 10 and 11 are correctly interpreted, iota adscript is not written.

There are several additions or corrections in lighter ink, but not necessarily by a second hand: 2, a sign or letter over -ov; 5, a sign over τ and ε struck through (*scriptio plena* replaced with elision?); 7 and 9 ε struck through (correcting itacistic ε for short i?); ε for long ε remains uncorrected (15), and also *δorec* for *δovrec* (11, another phonetic spelling?); 10 seems to be corrupt.

The cursive features of the hand may suggest that the papyrus is not the work of an experienced scribe. We have then to ask whether it is an amateur copy of an existing text, or the actual autograph of the author. Autographs have certainly been identified among literary papyri; see T. Dorandi, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 18-21, for a list: a striking example is the *Encomium of Hermes/Theon*, VII 1015, another celebratory composition from Oxyrhynchus. But the corrections there have the character of author variants: those in our papyrus are just orthographic niceties, while the apparent corruption in line 10 remains uncorrected. Thus we cannot tell whether the poem itself is earlier than the copy in 5191 or contemporary with it.

The text is clearly set out in cola. That, the metrical patterns, and the literary vocabulary, identify it as verse. We do not know how much is lost to the left, or whether any of the cola were originally indented; as it is, the column is already quite wide (c.12 cm at line 5). Line 1, the top of a column, may have been the first line (or the title), and there is no reason to doubt that all 16 lines belong to the same composition, though no way of proving it either.

A rigorous account of the metre is difficult, since all the cola lack their beginnings, and some their ends. There is no sign of responson to suggest strophic

construction. The basic movement is anapaestic/dactylic, with occasional single-short elements (4?, 10, 11). In what seems to be an epinician poem, we might naturally look for dactylo-epitrite. But the 'epitrites' here are few and mostly (perhaps always) limited to verse-end. Professor D'Alessio therefore suggests that the whole basic structure consists of anapaestic cola, some catalectic (ending ~~~), some catalectic (ending ~~~~), some *apokrota* (ending ~~~~); or indeed the equivalent in dactyls. This scheme does not quite fit lines 10 and 11, but both lines are in some degree corrupt (see commentary ad loc.).

Anapaests appear relatively often in poetry of the imperial period (West, *Greek Metre* 170–72), notably in hymns such as that to Antinous in the Kourion inscription (I. Kourion 104, SEG 53.1747bis), but also in other genres (cf. the mime 5187). Normally, however, they take the form of dimeters, whereas 5191 includes longer cola: something similar in Philostr. *Heracles* 55.3, anapaests with Doric vocalization, in which Achilles summons Echo to sing the praises of Homer. For dactylic lyric compare Macedonicus' hymn to Asclepius (IG IP<sup>2</sup> 4473 = Furley & Bremer, *Greek Hymns* (2001) 7.5), late Hellenistic, with C. A. Faraone, *Mnemosyne* 64 (2011) 206–31, and various oddities of the Roman period (West, *Greek Metre* 176–7).

The context remains uncertain. *Καπιτώλιος* (6) looks like a reference to Zeus Kapitoliος; and that, in conjunction with *στρατιώτις* (16), may direct us to the Capitoline Games, whether the great Roman festival or the local imitations set up e.g. at Oxyrhynchus in the late third century (see 6 n.). We can perhaps recognize the outlines of an epinician: news reaches the poet (2–3) of an athletic (16) victory at the Capitoline Games (6). 15 *ἴθρονον* may even be a direct reminiscence of Pindar; and with Pindar in mind we could see references to myth (8? 12?) and poetry (7, 9) as part of the traditional structure of the praise-poem. This would be remarkable. The Roman world produced many self-advertising athletic and poetic victors (see e.g. 5202), and the epinicians of Pindar and Bacchylides certainly circulated, yet there is very little evidence that the Pindaric model found imperial imitators; see I. Rutherford in P. Agócs et al. (edd.), *Receiving the Komos* (2012) 93–104.

If we take our poem as an epinician, we need to ask whether it refers to the Roman or the local games, whether the notional victor was local or foreign, and whether it is an imported or a local composition. Then there is the further question whether this poem celebrates a victor in the competition, or was itself an entry in the competition. Note LXIII 4352, hexameter compositions which celebrate Antinous and then Diocletian and his Prefect, where Zeus Kapitoliος has installed the new Emperor and should reward the poet with an Olympic crown: the editor suggested that the verses were composed to be recited at Capitoline games. But of course there were other poetic competitions in Egypt (see 4352 introd.), and perhaps other types of occasion. In the context of athletics (16?), remember the various compositions designed probably for performance at the Gymnasium of Oxyrhynchus (below, 5194 introd.); if Nike is central (2 n.), we could think of the

processions in which her statue was carried before images of the imperial family (LXI 4125 7–8 n.) and of the (partly metrical) 'mime' for the accession of Hadrian (P. Giss. Lit. 4.4; *Mim. adesp.* 5 Cunningham).

The poet remains anonymous. *Καπιτώλιος* shows that he (or she) wrote no earlier than the first century AD. He writes competent anapaests, in a mixture of dialect forms: Doric alpha in 2 *στραμμένα* and *κάρυξ*, possibly also 10 *τύχας* (if genitive singular) and 14 *-ριπτομένα* (if feminine nominative singular), but epic-Ionic eta in 5 *ἠρῶις* and 12 *πελώρη* (if correct). He seems to know Pindar (15), and if we interpret his work as an epinician we can see the overall design as in the Pindaric tradition. It is remotely possible that we have a local copy of a work by some external author. More likely, no doubt, that we have a local copy of a local composition, perhaps even an autograph. A local composition might refer to the Ludi Capitolini, but again more likely to a local *ἀγὼν καπετωλιακός*, provided always that 5191 should be dated III/IV, a judgment that like all palaeographic judgments may be open to question.

I am grateful to Prof. E. L. Bowie, Dr D. Colomo, Prof. W. Furley, and Dr L. Savignago for sharing their thoughts on the papyrus, and to Prof. G. B. D'Alessio, Dr W. B. Henry, and Prof. F. J. Parsons for the contributions indicated by their initials.

]ω[...], α, φ, [...]  
 ], δεμοιπτ, μεγακαρυξ, οχάων  
 ], τηλεφανης  
 ], λιμαπελοριον  
 5 ]ηοιστεθεωνενυ, ωρε[...], [...], τ[ε]αχ[...]  
 ], ενκαπιτωλιοςεργονα, [...];  
 ], λυγρωμετ[ε]βαθηρο, [...], υ  
 ]εκατο[...], ειρων  
 ], αβαναριμ[...], [ε]αν  
 10 ], ενδερ'εσιωνυχας  
 ]λιουχωδοτσεβα  
 ], νερθεπελωρηργα, [  
 ], [ριβοσαιεμαι  
 ], ηρηπτομενα  
 15 ], μενειφθονοντοδ[  
 ], ικελον, αδιουσα, [

1 ], the ligature to α suggests ε, but c cannot be excluded α, a low curve, fitting c or ε; the upper part is abraded [ ], the lower part of a curved letter, consistent with ε or ο 2 ], the end of a stroke-joining δ, compatible with α or ε πτ., the form of the π in ligature combined with



the long cross-bar guarantees τ (cf. 14); then a small diagonal trace on the edge at line level ... first, specks; second, a slightly curved vertical on the right suits the rounded τ ... ο, ο like itself, but possibly the loop of π ... ρ ], a vertical on the edge, shorter than most 1, consistent with the right vertical of α N ... 4 ], the ligature coming in high and a small trace above it favour ε over α ... 5 ], the diagonal and right-hand vertical ... θ, traces of a slanted left-hand upright and two small traces at letter-top level ... ρ, above this an oblique, grave accent or circumflex with a left-hand part lost in hole? ϕ, a small knot of damaged traces with a clear medial stroke: ε or θ ... ], [ a line coming up out of the lacuna, φ or π; a small trace at mid-height ], upright 7, the trace above it is lighter ink, either right-hand side of ο or a very round apostrophe ... deleted with a cancel-stroke 7 rather than 1ψ ... ], top of an upright 6 ], a descending oblique joining an upright; the height of the upright suggests η rather than λ1 ... ], high trace ], remains of the base and extended cap as in 3; a small trace above the cap 7 ], a descending oblique joining an upright [ε], deleted with a cancel-stroke in greyer ink ρρ, [ the top of a small bowl: ο, c, p; ο or p; a short, slightly concave upright, consistent with N ... ], ο or ω 8 ], end of a high horizontal stroke: τ, τ, x ... 9 ], joined to α, the tail of α, λ, or μ; the height best suits μ; lower parts of the first stroke and bridge, too low for λ ... ], foot of a stroke ascending steeply from left to right, e.g. N [ε] deleted with a cancel-stroke in greyer ink 10 ], a curved foot, most likely π or η ... 11 ], the left-hand diagonal descends too sharply to fit α ... 12 ], a round letter, probably ο or ω ρ, the foot of the right-hand upright appears unusually pointed, and closer than usual to the left-hand upright α, [ a ligature to an upright slanting to the right ... 13 ], rising from letter-top level, an ascending oblique, slightly curving at the top, with papyrus surface abraded to the right and missing below ... appears to have a low horizontal, but does not look like an ε: perhaps 1 with a smudge of ink ... 14 ], a trace on the line, perhaps the curved foot of a vertical or diagonal ... 15 ], ο or φ θυ, the cross-bar of θ seems to be rewritten (corrected to or from θ?) ... 16 ], high trace: c, τ, τ, or x ... ], a short high horizontal trace; a long cross-bar with a suggestion of the top of the upright of τ ... ], a high curved trace and a horizontal just underneath the tail of α; perhaps ε

[ω[... ]εα. φ. [... ]  
 ]ε δέ μοι πταμένα κάρυξ ἔπ' ὄχων  
 ]. τηλεφανής  
 ]ελμα πέλωρον  
 5 ] νηοί τε θεῶν ἐν ὕπνωρ[... ]... ] τ' ἄγν. [ ... ]  
 ] εν Καπιτώλιος ἔργον α. [... ] c  
 ]ν λιγυρών ἐπιβαθρον [... ] ν  
 ]εκατο[... ] ερωον  
 ]μαθεν ἀρμ[ο]νίαν  
 10 ζ]πρειδετ' εσίω νυχας  
 ]λιούχῳ δό(ν)τες θαῖ  
 ] ν νέβη πτελῶρον γαί[α ν  
 ], [ ]μβος ἀειραι  
 ], ηπριπομενα  
 15 ], μεν εἰθῶτονον τοῦδ  
 ], ἱεκλον ζαθιδιο α. [

'... to me, flying, a herald on a chariot ... far-shining ... enormous ... temples of gods in ... streets (?) ... Capitoline ... τασκ ... a foundation (?) of clear-sounding [song] ... (ϕ)η understood harmony ... strive ... fortune ... having given to the ... goddesses ... below, the enormous earth ... HR ... bracing (?) herself ... straight-stretched ... equal to [ ... ] in the stadia ...'

2 κάρυξ seems more likely than κάρυξ'. If this is nominative, the lacuna probably contained a finite verb: cf. *Od.* 16.468-9 ὠμήριος δέ μοι παρ' ἑταίρων ἀγγελος ἰκέει, / κήρυξ. It may have been a verb of arrival, like ὠμήριος, or ἦλθε (cf. *Sappho.* 44.2. Ν κάρυξ ἦλθε θηί; *B.* 18.16-17 ἦλθε(?) ... κάρυξ) or a verbum dicendi like εἶπε (cf. *Tim.* *PMG* 802). If κάρυξ is vocative, the lacuna may have contained an imperative. I print κάρυξ with the traditional accent: see P. Probert, *A New Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek* (2003) §196.

The female flying messenger might be Nike. For *Nikea* ... πταμένα, see *Eur.* *Ion* 457-60; here Athena is addressed as Nike. See also *Ar.* 574 οὐβόλα Νίην πέφρατα περιπόρον χυκαίαι, *Paus.* 5.17.3 ἔφρασα Νίην πτεράδ. But I know of no passage where Nike is referred to as κήρυξ. Φύμα or the equivalent might also fit the context, as GBD'A and WBH both suggest: cf. *Bacch.* 2.1 (messenger), *Hdt.* 9.100, *Aristoph.* *An.* 720, *Nonn.* *Dion.* 44.123, 18.1 and 24.179 (winged); *GVI* 805.3 (π 80) φήμη κήρυξ[ε]. I have found no reference to a chariot of Pheme, but perhaps such transport was generally available to mobile goddesses.

If a messenger is the subject, 'the first few lines [may] offer a topos that occurs in the incipits of at least two Hellenistic epinician poems: that of the arrival of the news of the victory. This is found in both Callimachus' *Victory of Beroë* and his *Victory of Sosibios*, and reverses the equivalent motif in the classical victory ode, where it is the new poem that is the vehicle for the diffusion of the news: Th. Fuhrer, *Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Chortyriker* (1992) 88-93' (GBD'A). Maehler on *Bacch.* 2.1 compares Ebert, *Epigr.* *auf Siegen* 59.11-12 [= *SGO* I 06/02/21] and 72.7-9, both victory poems.

ὄχων. The apparent χ over the ω seems to be in lighter ink. Its function is unclear: χ is a critical sign commonly used in papyri, whose specific function is often unclear (cf. K. McNamee, *Signs and Select Marginalia* (1992) 43-8, table 3), but it always occurs in the margin. GBD'A suggests that it is actually an acute accent corrected to a grave, or the other way round. If so, to distinguish ἐπ' ὄχων from ἐποχῶν (< ἐποχή or ἐποχέω)?

3 τηλεφανής generally means 'far-shining' or 'visible from afar' (Achilles' tomb in *Od.* 24.83). If it here applies to the subject in 2, and if that subject is e.g. Pheme, compare *Soph.* *Phil.* 189 ἀνά τηλεφανής, where the meaning seems to be 'making its appearance from far away'.

4 ]ελμα. Several words end thus, e.g. (-)ἄγελμα, ὄφελμα, σέλμα, τέλμα, Archimedes, *SH* 202.1 (*FGS* 83) has σέλμα πέλωρον, 'giant deck', of Hiero I's monster ship. In epinician context, *Pind.* *Ol.* 10.21 πτελῶρον ... ἡλδος.

5 νηοί τε θεῶν: cf. *Pind.* *Ol.* 13.21 θεῶν ναίων. For the Ionic vocalization, νηός for ναός, cf. 12 πτελῶρον.

ἐν ὕπνωρ[ε]: the traces between υ and ω match no letter perfectly, but the rounded π comes closest; ε small and partly closed, like θ. Then, after a damaged patch, a vertical trace high above the line. In itself, ὕπνωρ- would suggest ὕπνωρ- or ὕπνωρ[ε]- ὕπνωρ[α]([ε]) could make sense, and the word does occur in poetry (*Il.* 20.218, *A.R.* 2.380), though more often in prose. However, the space seems too narrow for α written normally, and [ε] would have to be abnormally tall. ὕπνωρ[α] would introduce a word familiar from poetry and φ would fit the high trace perfectly. However, ο does not match the ink (unless the medial stroke is a mark of deletion), or the gap that follows.

] π[ε]: originally it seems ], π[ε, then someone, using lighter ink, added an elision mark and struck out ε. We may consider a word-ending ], π[ε (the first trace an upright), or the particle 'r': perhaps ἐν ὕπνωρ[α]([ε]) ζῆ τ' ἀγυαίαι, or ἐν ὕπνωρ[ε]([α]([ε]) τ' ἀγυαίαι (P[ε], 'roofed stresses' referring to the four stasi of the Oxyrhynchus town-centre, *LXIV* 441), but neither version explains all the ink; see previous note.

αγν. [; perhaps ἀγν-.

6 [; ε: the first trace would suit στ. -σεν would likely be the last syllable of a third person singular verb in the imperfect or aorist. Possibilities include ἐκέρτα(σεν) 'accomplished/provided', ἐφύλα(σεν) 'showed', and ἐτέρετα(σεν) 'accomplished'.

Καπιτωλίος (sometimes Καπετωλίος) occurs occasionally as a proper name, but more commonly as an epithet of Zeus: Ζεὺς Καπιτωλίος = Jupiter Capitolinus. For his cult in the Greek East generally, see J. P. Oleson et al., *ZPE* 140 (2000) 108–9 (and SEG 52.1707); for Roman Egypt, G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theophrasti* II (1974) 401; for Oxyrhynchus, J. Whitehorn in *ANRW* II 18.5 (1995) 3084. The Capitoline Games were celebrated in his honour, and τριβάσιος in 16 suggests that this was the context here. In that case we have to choose between two different festivals. (1) The Ludii Capitolini at Rome, founded by Domitian in AD 86, held prime place on the athletic and musical circuit. See M. L. Caldelli, *L'Agon Capitolinus* (1993). (2) Imitations of the Roman model, called Καπιτωλίος or ἀγών Καπιτωλιακός, appear in Egypt from the later third century on: at Antinoopolis, founded in 267/8, and specifically at Oxyrhynchus, which celebrated its games first in 273 and possessed its own Καπιτωλίον (see J. C. Quinn and A. Wilson, 'Capitolia', *JRS* 103 (2013) 117–73, at 149). For the documentary evidence see P. Frisch, *Ζήτη ἀγωνιστικῆς Πύργη*; LXIII 4352 introd.; below pp. 194–5, 198 [Remijnen].

α. [...]: the high trace above the bowl best matches a preceding slanted epsilon (cf. the ε of θεών in 5), which suggests the neuter of an adjective in -ος to go with ἔργον (e.g. ἀξι[ω]ς, cf. *IL* 14.13 etc. ἔργον δεινός, but the space might be just too large for that); if the trace is something else, the form may be a nominative participle, e.g. ἀξι[ω]ς (GBD'A).

7 ἐπιβαθρον or ἐπι βάθρον? If the former, perhaps ἐπιβαθρον [δοσ]θῶν, where the genitive would represent δοσθῆ rather than δοσός, since λεγόμενος is so common a conjunction from *Od.* 12.44 and 183 onwards. In Claudian, *AP* 9.140.3 ἐπιβαθρον δοσθῆ, the word has the concrete sense 'support' of a stand for the poet; so in *AP* 9.661.9 (Ital. Aegeyri) of a tree where birds perch; Call. fr. 195.23 of a statue-base (A. Kazhdan, *Callimachus' Book of Iambi* (1999) 153–4). It can also mean 'freed paid when embarking on a ship', *Od.* 15.449 etc. Might it here refer to a physical support for the singer ('platform'), or more figuratively to the basis of his song (cf. Hes. *Op.* 659 ἄθλα με τὸ πρῶτον λεγόμενα ἐπιβρασαν δοσθῆ), which might be the ἄγρον of 6? Or, in the other sense, 'a fee for clear-sounding songs', if that would somehow fit the context?

8 [κα]ρ[...], εἰρηνα: perhaps ἐκατα[γ]γέλιον (or ἐκατα[γ]), as transmitted in Acualaus fr. \*\*8 Fowler, but this looks a letter short (perhaps a diastole was written between γ and χ); see *GMW* 2 p. 11. 20. An alternative might be [κα]ρσι[γ]γέλιον, compare LXIII 4352 fr. 5 ἰ 18, where Zeus Kapitolios gives the empire to Diocletian οὐρακίρας γενεῖν . . . ἀφ' ἑρῶν. γ is a doubtful reading, since we might expect the cross-piece to extend rightwards to touch the following α, but it matches the trace slightly better than x. If γ, then e.g. ἀγγέλιον or [κα]ρσι[γ]γέλιον ('rousing the far-shooter' [sc. Apollo]); cf. *IL* 1.385.

9 μῦαθεν: the initial trace favours (-)μῦαθεν over (-)λῦαθεν. Perhaps μῦαθεν (without augment); (-)μῦαθεν is unlikely, since it would give three successive short syllables.

ἀρμ[α]σ[ι]κῶν suits the space. The fourth letter veiling from the end appears to be a cancelled epsilon: presumably the scribe first wrote the iatadic spelling -εων. However, the process may have been more complicated, since [ε]ῖαν and perhaps also the preceding μ[ι] are written in a hand that, while basically similar to the rest, slopes strongly to the right.

PJP speculates that the author has in mind Pindaric references to the children of Gaia: *Dybl.* 1.15–16 Typhos fears the Muses' song; *Dybl.* 8.16–18 Typhos and Porphyryon subdued (βυαθεν, which would fit the traces in g, but not the metre as analysed above). Typhos and Musei reappear in Nonn. *Dion.* 1.376 ff.: see Rutherford in Agócs et al. (edd.), *Receiving the Komos* 103–4.

10 [ε]νέθεν: or [ε]νέθεν', indicative or imperative. The apparent acute accent would exclude the articulation [ε]νεῖδέ τ', ἐδέ τ'. If imperative, addressed to the external audience or to some group within the framework of the poem?

εἰω: ἰὼ τύχα (Eur. *El.* 1183), possible in itself, would leave εc stranded. ἔλω (from ε(θεῖναι) exists as a form, and the internal diaeresis has parallels elsewhere in the writing of compound words. But it accms to make no obvious sense, particularly if ἰ1 δα(φ)ρος goes with ε[ρ]στουέρ'. Therefore I have considered whether it represents a phonetic spelling of αἰεῖα (see for ε instead of α Gignac, *Grammar* I 192–3), but this would be the only example of such a spelling in the text.

τύχα accusative plural or Doric genitive singular?

11 [λο]ύχρ . . . θεῖ. Perhaps πο[λο]ύχρ, often applied to Athena but elsewhere also to other tutelary deities. However, it may be worth considering πρῶτα[λο]ύχρ, as PJP suggests, if θεῖ (or θεά) refers to 10 Τύχα: for Tyche as pilot (often in art) cf. Pind. fr. 40 δίδωμαι πρῶτοφα πηδάλου, Dio. Chrys. *Or.* 63.7 τὸ δὲ πηδάλου θηλοῖ ἐπὶ κυβερνῆν τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἢ τύχη. So GVI 1516.3 τύχη . . . οἰακι (Orchomenos, 11/18c).

δορε: probably a mistake for δόντες (cf. XLII 3017 3 δορε, L δόντες; see Gignac, *Grammar* I 116–17. This would be an unexpected lapse in an otherwise quite literate manuscript. Alternatively, WBH suggests a graphic corruption, e.g. δορεc for δ(δοῦ)δ(δο)ρεc. For the construction, cf. Eur. *IT* 820 μητρί δούσα σφί. The object might be e.g. τιμάν, 'giving honour to the god(ess)', as at Eur. *Ba.* 342 μὲρ' ἡμῶν τὰς θεῶν τιμῆν δίδου. Since the context is unknown, the possibility of a dual [λο]ύχρ δ' εἰ' ε θεῖ (and when to the . . . goddesses?), though unlikely, cannot be excluded.

12 [ν] ἠρθε: ἠρθε may be adverb or preposition. The preposition takes the genitive, which may precede it ([LJ] s.v. ἠρθεc π.1.2): in that case perhaps read [μ], which is not excluded by the traces (cf. *IL* 2.150 πῶδων δ' ἠρθεῖσθ).

πελώριον γαῖαν: γαῖα πελώριον is a Hesiodic formula at verse end (*Tk.* 159 etc., see West ad loc.; picked up in Thgn. 9 and in QS. 2.225, 6.335, 10.72). This recommends restoring γαῖαν before γαῖα [; where in any case we would expect γῆν. For the Ionic vocalization in πελώριον cf. 5 γῆσι. In Homer the longer form πελώριος is the norm, and our author has πελώριον in line 4. But in 12 πελώριον is excluded by the space, while μω (two-termination) is excluded by the traces.

13 [π]ῶς δεμαί: δεμαί optative or δεμαί inflected? At the beginning, the trace stands well to the left of ρ; there may or may not have been a narrow letter in the following. βῆρατος, with a damaged ρ, would fill the space, and give sense; cf. Doriens, *SH* 396.1 (FGE 159) ἥρατα βῆρατος. If e.g. (σν)βῆρατος, the cross-bar of ρ must have been unusually prolonged.

14 [γ]ρητομονα: [γ]ρητομονα (Doric feminine) or ρητομονα (neuter plural), ε[ρη]ρητομονα or ε[ρη]ρητομονα. If we accept the first articulation, [γ] might end a noun agreeing with the participle. But if it was feminine singular, the author should have written Doric -α; if it was neuter plural, we might have expected -α, though the author is not necessarily in full control of his dialects.

15 εἰθόνου: I. ἰθόνου. The word occurs only at *AP* 6.187.4 (*GP* 3339), Alpheus, ἰθόνου . . . ἀπὸ σταλίου ('straight' or 'upright'). However, as GBD'A points out, the equivalent εἰθόνου is transmitted at Pind. *Ol.* 10.64–3 στάδιον μὲν ἀρίστουεν εἰθόνου / ποσσὶ πρῶτων (where εδ normally print εἰθόν τόνου: WBH refers to W. S. Barrett, *Greek Lyric, Tragedy*, & *Textual Criticism* (2007) 73–4). The scholia understand it to qualify στάδιον, τὸ μὴ ἔχον κωμῆν, τὸν ἀπλόον δρόμον, and so here τριβάσιος appears in the next line.

16 Ἴεκαλον: i has a diaeresis, as expected at word-beginning. Its dative probably preceded, e.g. θεοῖ; Ἴεκαλον.

εἰαθῶν refers to the racecourse as a place or as an event (cf. Pind. *Isth.* 1.22–3 Ἰάμετες . . . ἀρετὰ ἐν . . . γυμνασίοις σταδίοις; 1015 8 Ἐρμῆν δ' ἐν σταδίοις ἑτοιμάσαν ἀθλητῆρας [sc. κλη[ρο]ν[ε]ι]). The word following σταδίοις begins with a, then indeterminate traces: in this context ἀε[θ]α is worth considering.

## 5192. PROSE (ON CROWNS, GAMES AND VICTORIES)

87/336(a-b)

Fr. 1, 5, 2 × 10.2 cm

Second century

A group of 49 mostly very small fragments, probably assembled on the basis of the similarity of the literary script. The larger fragments contain an unknown prose-work; many of the scraps may come from the same work, but here the criterion of script is more difficult to apply, and some probably (fr. 44, 49) or possibly do not belong.

The larger fragments show an upper margin of at least 3.4 cm (fr. 3) and an intercolumnium of 1.9–2 cm (fr. 2 and 3). The maximum line-length preserved is 16 letters = 5 cm (fr. 1). However, the lines were probably somewhat longer (122 letters?) as it does not seem possible to reconstruct a continuous text in fr. 1 on the basis of lines of 16 letters (see the discussion of possible supplements in fr. 1.9–12 and fr. 9). Johnson's statistics, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 100–115, suggest 6.7–7.5 cm as the top of the 'normal' range for prose texts.

There are some angular line-fillers in fr. 2 (4, 7, 10 and 13) as in *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 67 and 82 (see also *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 5 n. 12); on line-fillers see further R. Barbis Lupi, *Pap. Cong. XIX* (1992) 502–10; T. Di Matteo, *Pap. Cong. XXIV* (2007) 259–63; G. Del Masto, *CErc* 39 (2009) 296–9. The scribe uses *scriptio plena* twice in fr. 1 (4, 15; cf. fr. 3 i 5), and there is probably elision (apparently unmarked) at fr. 5.4. A paragraphus is found under fr. 4.6, and a high stop at fr. 1.3. Diaeresis is applied to initial υ (fr. 4.4, 2.5 (?)).

The hand is an informal example of the 'mixed' type (see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 22), slightly sloping to the right. It may be compared to *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 27, which is assigned to the second (or third: *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 149 n. 48) century. In combination with the documentary text on the other side this suggests a date of roughly the second century.

The literary text is written across the fibres, on the back of documentary remains identified by N. Gonis as from a tax account, particularly on the basis of the larger fragments, such as fr. 1, 2 and 3. The text runs in the same direction on both sides. The reverse of some of the smaller fragments (such as fr. 7, 12, 14, 18, etc.) is blank, but as the account clearly had some very wide spacing they could easily be from the same environment, as can be seen in fr. 4, where the reverse of the literary text is apparently the lower margin of the document.

Within the group of literary fragments, 1 and 2 might belong together, either as parts of one column or, perhaps more likely, as parts of two consecutive columns (see commentary on fr. 1). Among the other fragments of which some sense can be made, fr. 3, 11 and 13 give column-tops, and since their documentary rectos show some similarity one may consider the possibility that they are from the same part of the papyrus, perhaps from the top of the columns of which fr. 1 and 2 form the

## 5192. PROSE (ON CROWNS, GAMES AND VICTORIES)

lower part. Fr. 4 probably contains the lower margin of the document on its back, so it should come in a position lower in a column.

The more substantial fragments are about crowns, games and victories, but do not give the impression of being a list of victors or festivals, since in some fragments, such as fr. 1, 2, 3 and 11, discursive or narrative elements can be detected (especially the use of particles and verb-forms). In fr. 4, a paragraphus under line 6 may indicate that the words ὁ τῆς ἐλευθίας τρεφίλωνος (7) begin a new section, which may suggest an arrangement according to prizes (but for some reservations see the commentary ad loc.). Other fragments contain references to several victories (so fr. 5, 9, 12 and perhaps 13), and sometimes references to well-known victors, such as Euthymus of Locri (see on fr. 1.4 etc.), can be detected. The vocabulary perhaps contains some poetic words, such as φραδῶς and ἀλοποι- (fr. 1.3, 13), but the readings are somewhat doubtful; see commentary; γαίη (fr. 2.4, also doubtful; see commentary), παλάμαισιν (fr. 3 i 1). This could mean that the text had literary pretensions or, more likely, contained quotations (but there is no overlap with known poetic fragments and the remains are too small for it to be possible to detect a metrical structure).

There are other papyri with texts about games: P. Harris I 49, a simple list of festivals from the third/fourth century; II 222 + XXIII 2381, a list of Olympic victors from 480–468, 456–448, and 396 BC, containing information about names, places and games; further lists of Olympic victors in PSI XV 1506 and PL inv. III/1000 v. (ed. R. Pintaudi, *CE* 87 (2012) 305–7). However, these are not very similar to our papyrus. For further discussion of victor lists see H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides* i.2 (1982) 1–4; E. Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History* (2007).

There is also ample evidence of ancient authors writing about specific games. These include e.g. Eratosthenes (*FGHist* 241), who wrote a work called Ὀλυμπιονίκες in the third century BC (see R. Tosi in *DNP* s.v. Eratosthenes), and Phlegon of Tralles (*FGHist* 257), who, during the reign of Hadrian, wrote about victors in the Olympic Games (see P. L. Schmidt in *DNP* s.v. Phlegon). Also Paus. 6.1–18 contains a great deal of information about Olympic victors and their statues. Our papyrus, however, does not seem to focus on specific games, so more general works on games would offer better prospects of similarity or identification. A well-known work of this kind was probably Callimachus' *Περὶ ἀγώνων* (fr. 403 Pf.; cf. also fr. 541), written in the third century BC, for which he had a predecessor in Duris of Samos (*FGHist* 76) and which may have inspired a range of authors writing on a similar theme, listed by Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 403 (Ister, Cleophanes, Theodorus Hierapolis, Oenomaus of Gadara); see also Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists* 169–70. Apart from this we also have poetic fragments of Callimachus which deal with pan-Hellenic victors and may be based on Callimachus' own prose-work; cf. *Actia* fr. 84–85a (Euthycles) and 98–99b (Euthymus); and among the unplaced fragments fr. 607

(Theagenes of Thasos?); 666 (Astylus of Locri); 758 (?) (Milon of Croton). However, no overlaps can be established.

More information about victors comes from their inscriptions: see J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (1972), cited in the commentary below as 'Ebert'. Suggestions made by Professor Parsons, Professor D'Alessio, and Dr Henry are cited below by their initials.

Fr. 1

|    |                            |    |                             |
|----|----------------------------|----|-----------------------------|
|    | ., ανε. [                  |    | ., ανε. [                   |
|    | ., γαρεκα [                |    | ., γαρ εκα [                |
|    | ., φραδας περ [            |    | ., φραδας περ [             |
|    | ]θηδενηλοκροι [            |    | ]θηδε εν Λοκροις [          |
| 5  | ]μενδικαιο [ . . ] [       | 5  | ]μεν δικαιο [ . . ] [       |
|    | ]νηκτηνηπαρα [             |    | ]νηκτηνη παρα [             |
|    | ]ουσι ενουιν [             |    | ]ον οτι μεν ονν [           |
|    | ]αιταοιαυαπα [             |    | ]και τα τοιαυτα πα [        |
|    | ]τιδεκατωνκρε [            |    | ]τι δε και των κρε [        |
| 10 | ]κατημικ ευειντο [         | 10 | ]κατηπόνκτευεν το [         |
|    | ]ακουσαιτ [ . . ] κροτων [ |    | ]ακουσαι τ [ . . ] κροτων [ |
|    | ]οκαλουμε [ . . ] ρετ με [ |    | ]ο καλομμε [ . . ] ρετ με [ |
|    | ]τοπον . . [ . . ] ολο [   |    | ]τοπον . . [ . . ] ολο [    |
|    | ]χωρανε [ . . ] νηρε [     |    | ]χωρανε ε [ . . ] νηρ κ [   |
| 15 | ]τινααγ [ . . ] νκαιχ [    | 15 | ]τινα αγ [ . . ] ν και χ [  |
|    | ]ειντ [ . . ] οδυς [       |    | ]ειν τ [ . . ] οδυς [       |
|    | ]κουε [                    |    | ]κουε [                     |
|    | ., ωγγ [                   |    | ., ωγγ [                    |
|    | ., αντηω [                 |    | ., αντηω [                  |
| 20 | ] . . . [                  | 20 | ] . . . [                   |

Fr. 1

1 ], hook at bottom (e or c likely) [ , long vertical bending to right (γ fits best) 2 ], speck on edge (upper right-hand corner of letter, e.g. η or η) 3 ], , thick vertical trace, with hook to left at top (as in π); blotted rounded trace on both sides of gap (o or ρ would fit, but no traces of descender, so o more likely) 5 ], [ , long vertical (λ fits) 7 ], foot of slightly sloping vertical (position fits ρ, γ, or ι) , vertical and right top of letter (μ fits) 8 ], , c or κ 9 ], high speck (perhaps supralinear) [ , long vertical (e.g. ι) 10 ], horizontal top 11 ], speck (right top of letter) 12 ], , one or two letters missing , vertical on edge of gap (e or η possible) 13 ], [ , vertical; specks at bottom (lower part of square or triangular letter would fit); long vertical ] , end of oblique followed by vertical (so λ1 or λ1 or η if the traces are part of one letter) [ , π or τ and speck on edge 14 ], [ , probably lower left part of κ or left top of

λ1 (π or λ less likely) ], , thick vertical with remains of horizontal joined to it at left at mid-height (η likely) 15 ], [ , vertical bending to right at top (perhaps ρ or ε) ], , rounded trace and speck (lower right part and top of o fits best) [ , oblique 16 ], , slightly rounded right part of letter (η would fit) stray ink below ε 17 ], [ , slightly sloping vertical with specks to right (κ perhaps possible) 18 ], , if two letters, λ or λ followed by vertical; if one letter, η would fit well [ , specks at bottom 19 ], [ , speck on edge [ , vertical on edge (thickened at mid-height: ρ or η?) 20 ], . . . [ , perhaps right top of λ; speck; top of vertical or steep descending oblique; part of horizontal top

Fr. 2

|    |             |   |                     |  |         |
|----|-------------|---|---------------------|--|---------|
|    | ., εφη [    |   | ., Top              |  | Top     |
|    | ] , δεδρη [ |   | ] , μαυιασδε        |  | γου [   |
|    | ] καιοαρη [ |   | ] τεπαιαισεν        |  | ωπ [    |
|    | ] ργαυ >    |   | ] ηχομ . . . [      |  | . . . [ |
| 5  | ] ντοκρο    | 5 | ] , κ . . . σπολλ [ |  |         |
|    | ] σμιλω     |   | ] , παυιασου [      |  |         |
|    | ] ατε >     |   | ] , κειπειεν [      |  |         |
|    | ] απεστη    |   | ] , αιτων [         |  |         |
|    | ] αιπαρα    |   | ] αρη [             |  |         |
| 10 | ] σταν >    |   | ] ε [               |  |         |
|    | ] μεγαρη    |   |                     |  |         |
|    | ] νανει     |   |                     |  |         |
|    | ] μετα >    |   |                     |  |         |
|    | ] τινααγ    |   |                     |  |         |
| 15 | ] υπεγραμ   |   |                     |  |         |
|    | ] κρη [     |   |                     |  |         |

Fr. 2

1 ], speck [ , vertical trace 2 ], , long vertical 3 above υ perhaps part of the right dot of a diaeresis 7 ], , probably ends of fork of κ 12 ], , long oblique trace (right part of γ fits) 13 ], , long vertical 14 ], , top of vertical joined to τ

Fr. 3 col. i

1 ], , end of oblique 3 ], , vertical; oblique rising to right: λ or λ [ , speck at bottom; blotted trace at bottom 4 ], [ , vertical, bending to the left at bottom with ink to left (right part of η fits well; right part of π would be bending to the right) , slightly sloping horizontal top (as sometimes with τ); end of oblique speck below λ [ 5 ], , traces fit upper right part of ε 6 ], , end of oblique 7 ], [ , top of vertical; upper part of small loop ], , top of κ or γ likely [ , π or τ 9 ], [ , triangular letter (λ likely); top of vertical (?)

col. ii

3 ], [ , top of triangular letter; high speck

Fr. 4

|                      |                     |             |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| ]. . [ . . [ . . [   | ]νευς.[             | ]. . [      |
| ] . η . . τα . ρ[    | ]τρισοδ[            | ]απε . . ε[ |
| ] . . φεξ . μνηα . [ | ]ευπαρ.[            | ]οξφο . [   |
| τανυ . [ ]ββββλ . [  | ]νδαρε . [          | ]ηγμα[      |
| παδυνατονευα[        | ]εθρων . [          | ]λαου[      |
| νασαπαντης . [       | ]πεθω . [           | ]ικ[        |
| στηελα . αετρεφ[     | ] . . [ . . [ . . [ |             |
| . [                  |                     |             |

Fr. 4 1 Indefinite traces, partly on loose fibres 2 ], indefinite traces, partly on loose fibres 3 ], indefinite traces, partly on loose fibres 4 ], specks preceding an upright joined at top left, perhaps π 5 ], vertical; η likely 6 ], triangular letter, perhaps ηβ[ ] (GBD'A) 7 ], slightly sloping vertical 8 ], beginning of sloping vertical 9 ], two vertical traces; remains of vertical on edge, as in e.g. μ or κ 10 ], beginning of loop of λ; long vertical (λ); would fit 11 ], low speck (position fits left part of λ); high speck (top of vertical?) 12 ], right part of λ likely

Fr. 5 Perhaps a left hand margin, but the ink at the beginning of 7 may be too far to the left 1 ], η or μ 2 ], vertical trace (position excludes π) 3 ], rounded letter 4 ], horizontal top 5 ], ε is somewhat anomalous 6 ], vertical thickened in the middle with specks to right 7 ], slightly sloping vertical on edge (η, η, or μ possible) 8 ], part of small loop (o or π); top of vertical; speck 9 ], small horizontal trace with ink below to right (top of letter); triangular letter

Fr. 6 1 ], ], speck (upper part of letter); foot of vertical with speck to right 2 ], slightly rounded vertical with rising horizontal top (π or τ); specks; τ, π, or ρ with specks 3 ], speck (right top) 4 ], below ε some indefinite ink 5 ], π or ρ with speck at bottom 6 ], triangular letter 7 ], ], speck (end of oblique?) 8 ], vertical (shape fits right part of η best)

Fr. 7

|             |              |                       |              |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| ] . κυ[     | ] . [        | ] . [ . . . ] . ρ . [ | ] . [        |
| ] . θλη[    | ] μμε . [    | ] θοιτρικνε . [       | ] τιξα . [   |
| ] . ηεδ[    | ] . ενει . [ | ] . θαι . μελλ[       | ] υτωα . [   |
| ] . ηγε . [ | ] φαρς[      | ] . ρ[                | ] . ρπερ . [ |
| 5 ] . λ . [ | ] ααυ[       |                       | ] ουλου[     |
|             | ] νου . [    |                       | ] . [        |
|             | ] ρ . [      |                       |              |

Fr. 7

1 ], ], long vertical (1 fits) 2 ], ], end of oblique 3 ], ], speck at bottom (too close for τ) 3 ], ], right end of horizontal top 4 ], ], speck (lower right part of letter) 5 ], ], top of letter 6 ], ], beginning of loop of λ

Fr. 8

1 ], ], speck 2 ], ], foot of vertical (slightly sloping) 3 ], ], specks, partly on loose fibre (position would fit c or κ) 4 ], ], vertical trace 5 ], ], speck 6 ], ], speck 7 ], ], τ or π

Fr. 9

1 ], ], end of oblique with specks to left; beginning of oblique 2 ], ], foot of vertical 3 ], ], beginning of oblique 4 ], ], beginning of oblique or sloping vertical 5 ], ], top of vertical 6 ], ], not quite certain, but seems to fit the traces best 7 ], ], vertical trace 8 ], ], horizontal top

Fr. 10

1 ], ], foot of vertical 2 ], ], speck (bottom left) 3 ], ], ink on loose fibre 4 ], ], speck (right top) 5 ], ], specks on edge 6 ], ], speck (right bottom) 7 ], ], speck (top of letter)

Fr. 11

|            |           |            |             |
|------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| Top        | Fr. 12    | Fr. 13     | Fr. 14      |
| ]ωνε . [   | ] . [     | ] . εαγευ[ | ] . [       |
| ]ουγαρ . [ | ] . ραλ[  | ] . εαιερ[ | ] . τρα[    |
| ]τηρω[     | ]τριε . [ | ] . λαυ[   | ] . ροι . [ |
| ] . εου[   | ]ελ . [   | ] . [      | ]εερ[       |
| 5 ] . [    |           |            | Foot        |

Fr. 11

1 ], ], sloping vertical 2 ], ], speck at bottom below loop of ρ 3 ], ], small horizontal trace (right top) 4 ], ], η or possibly λ; 5 ], ], ], speck

Fr. 12

1 ], ], long descender 2 ], ], speck; small rounded letter (o or c likely) 3 ], ], specks on edge 4 ], ], o or upper part of e; then π or ρ

Fr. 13

1 ], ], speck at mid-height, touching ε 2 ], ], speck at mid-height 3 ], ], triangular letter 4 ], ], perhaps λ or λ

Fr. 14

1 ], ], speck 2 ], ], speck on edge at mid-height 3 ], ], speck on edge at mid-height 4 ], ], lower left part of η likely

- Fr. 15
- |               |              |                    |            |
|---------------|--------------|--------------------|------------|
| . . .         | . . .        | . . .              | . . .      |
| . . .         | . . .        | Top?               | . . .      |
| . . .         | . . . κ. [   | ] κενοσρεπ[        | . . . γ. [ |
| ] λει. [      | ] ωνδ. [     | ] ουχαυρων[        | ] πο. [    |
| ] θηκ[        | . . . εω. [  | . . . [ . . . ] π[ | . . . οηγ[ |
| . . . ε. [    | ] . . . ποω[ | . . .              | . . .      |
| . . . γ. [    | . . .        | . . .              | . . .      |
| ] . . . ρη. [ | . . .        | . . .              | . . .      |
| ] . . . να[   | . . .        | . . .              | . . .      |
- Fr. 15  
1 ], speck 2 [, slightly sloping vertical 4 ], speck at mid-height [, speck suggesting rounded letter 5 ], right part of κ possible [, speck at bottom (beginning of oblique or slightly sloping vertical) 6 ], ο or π [, left end of horizontal top 7 ], vertical
- Fr. 16  
1 ], . . . specks [, vertical 2 ], vertical 3 ], c likely [, horizontal top with ink below (c fits best) 4 ], ο or π
- Fr. 17  
Perhaps upper margin 2 ], ink touching ο on left? 3 ], . . . [, oblique trace; ink on loose fibre; speck (perhaps top of vertical); top of π, τ, or ρ
- Fr. 18  
1 ], τ or ρ [, slightly rounded trace on edge 2 ], rounded letter 3 ], horizontal top
- Fr. 19
- |       |             |           |           |
|-------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| Top   |             |           |           |
| ov. [ | . . . α[    | ] ω. [    | ] π. [    |
| οτ. [ | ] . . . να[ | ] . . . [ | ] . . . [ |
| αψ[   | ] π[        | . . .     | . . .     |
| δ. [  | . . .       | . . .     | . . .     |
- Fr. 19  
1 [, vertical (curled to left at bottom) 2 [, vertical 4 [, beginning of oblique
- Fr. 20  
1 ], vertical and specks 2 ], ο or π
- Fr. 21  
1 [, long vertical with ink to right (perhaps ρ) 2 ], rounded top of letter (?)

- Fr. 22  
1 ], rounded letter (left bottom) 2 ], . . . tops of two verticals; rounded top
- Fr. 23
- |        |              |                 |        |
|--------|--------------|-----------------|--------|
| . . .  | Fr. 24       | Fr. 25          | Fr. 26 |
| . . .  | . . .        | . . .           | . . .  |
| . . .  | . . . ε. [   | . . . [ . . . [ | ] ωψ[  |
| ] θ. [ | ] . . . π. [ | ] επ. [         | ] μ. [ |
| ] δε[  | . . .        | . . .           | . . .  |
| ] π[   | . . .        | . . .           | . . .  |
- Fr. 23  
1 ], speck 2 ], speck (top end of c?) [, speck at bottom
- Fr. 24  
1 ], . . . specks (oblique crossing foot of vertical?) [, oblique 2 ], ο or π . . . [, ο or π; two vertical traces close to each other with some ink to right of top of second trace
- Fr. 25  
1 ], speck at bottom [, end of oblique; vertical trace with ink to right (perhaps ρ) 2 ], ω or c
- Fr. 26  
2 [, trace at mid-level
- Fr. 27
- |        |              |        |
|--------|--------------|--------|
| Fr. 28 | Fr. 29       | Fr. 30 |
| . . .  | . . .        | . . .  |
| ] τ. [ | ] χωψ[       | ] ω. [ |
| ] η[   | ] . . . [ α[ | ] υψ[  |
| . . .  | . . .        | ] κ[   |
| . . .  | . . .        | ] δ[   |
- Fr. 27  
1 [, speck on edge
- Fr. 28  
1 ], possibly a tight loop as of a narrow π 2 ], sloping vertical
- Fr. 29  
3 ], vertical trace (top)
- Fr. 30  
1 [, vertical (slightly curved) 2 ], vertical 3 ], right part of ω or η

|        |           |        |        |
|--------|-----------|--------|--------|
| Fr. 31 | Fr. 32    | Fr. 33 | Fr. 34 |
|        |           |        | Top    |
| ]. [   | ]α. [.] [ | . [    | ]ει. [ |
| ]ετ[   | ]ω. [     | πρ[    | ]εξ[   |
| ].. [  | ]αιτ[     | δ[     | ] [    |
|        | ] [       |        |        |

Fr. 31 1 ], [ speck 2 ],, long descender 3 ],, [ speck; curved trace and vertical (part of μ?)

Fr. 32 1 ], [ specks 2 ], [ vertical 3 ],, two dots one above the other (ε or κ would fit) 4 ], [ top of vertical

Fr. 33 1 ], [ rounded trace at bottom 1-2 Between these lines small rounded or oblique trace in margin on a turned-over piece with horizontal fibres, i.e. from recto

Fr. 34 1 ], [ speck 3 ], [ vertical

|        |        |        |            |
|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| Fr. 35 | Fr. 36 | Fr. 37 | Fr. 38     |
| ]κν. [ | ]ερα[  | ]γ[    | ].. [      |
| ]ε. [  | ]υε. [ | ].. α[ | ].. cυφ. [ |
| ]κωε[  | ]ε. [  |        |            |
| ] [    |        |        |            |

Fr. 35 1 ], [ sloping vertical with ink to left at top (τ likely) 2 ], [ vertical joined to horizontal top (π likely) 3 ],, o or π 4 ], [ right part of small loop (o or π)

Fr. 36 1 ],, o or π 2 ], [ τ or line-filler 3 ],, vertical joined to horizontal top (τ likely); top of vertical

Fr. 37 1 ],, vertical 2 ],, π or ο; then τ would fit

Fr. 38 1 ], [ slightly rounded vertical; high speck 2 ],, end of oblique 3 ], [ speck at bottom

|        |        |        |        |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Fr. 39 | Fr. 40 | Fr. 41 | Fr. 42 |
| ]. [   | ]οιτ[  | ].. [  | ]ιωπ[  |
| ]θ[    | ] [    | ]μκα[  |        |
| ]τ. [  |        | ]ηλ[   |        |
| ]μ[    |        | ]δτ. [ |        |
| 5 ]υθ[ |        |        |        |
| ] [    |        |        |        |

Fr. 39 1 ], [ vertical; beginning of oblique 3 ], [ speck at bottom 4 ],, vertical 6 ], [ top of vertical

Fr. 40 2 ], [ top of vertical

Fr. 41 1 ],, [ triangular letter; vertical; small loop at bottom (left part of λ fits) 4 ],, end of oblique 5 ], [ rounded letter

Fr. 42 ],, speck at bottom

|        |        |        |        |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Fr. 43 | Fr. 44 | Fr. 45 | Fr. 46 |
|        |        | Top    |        |
| ]ζοε[  | ]με[   | ]δε. [ | ] [    |
| ]εκ. [ | ]μ[    | ]δετ[  | ]μ. [  |
| ] [    | ]λτα[  | ] [    | ]γ[    |
|        | ]π. [  |        | ]τ[    |

Fr. 43 2 ], [ beginning of oblique 3 ], [ speck and top of vertical with oblique trace joined at left (perhaps top of μ)

Fr. 44 2 ],, perhaps λ 3 ],, or ]η 4 ],, top of vertical; high trace (top of λ?)

Fr. 45 1 ],, speck at bottom 2 ], [ specks 3 ], [ top of vertical

Fr. 46 1 ], [ speck 2 ], [ specks 3 ],, tail joining γ at foot

Fr. 47

Fr. 48

Fr. 49

Top

|          |       |                       |
|----------|-------|-----------------------|
| ]. [     | ] 9]  | ]. cδη, ηΓΡΟC, ερε. [ |
| ]. 7. [  | ] ρο[ | ]. [                  |
| ] οντ[   |       |                       |
| ] κρα. [ |       |                       |
| 5 ] . [  |       |                       |

Fr. 47

1 ] . [ horizontal bottom      2 ] . , τ or γ      . [ triangular letter; slightly sloping vertical  
4 ] . [ , speck (left top of letter)      5 ] . [ , small loop or top of e

Fr. 48

1 ] . , remains of vertical on edge

Fr. 49

1 ] . , vertical      . , top of vertical (right part of letter)      . , vertical trace (spacing points to top)  
2 ] . [ , vertical trace (spacing points to 1 rather than γ)      3 ] . [ , top of vertical; specks

Fr. 1

This fragment and fr. 2 may belong together, with fr. 1.1 and fr. 2.1 belonging to the same line, and so on down the column, since the fibres on the front seem to be continuous. If so, however, there was probably some distance between the fragments, since in fr. 2 the distance between prominent fibres is wider than in fr. 1 (as confirmed by R. A. Coles). The text itself offers no clear indications (in fr. 2 *ἀπό Κροί[ωνωνάω]* would be suitable, but there are other possibilities as well) and the text on 5-6 *ἀπό Κροί[ωνωνάω]* would be suitable. On the whole the space needed to accommodate the fibre pattern and to allow a text that makes sense would probably be too wide and not fit the narrow column and 7 is usual in prose papyri (which only rarely contained more than 624 letters per line; see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 7 with notes; Johnson, *Boatrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* 114-15). One should therefore also bear in mind which the possibility that the fragments may be from two consecutive columns each 622 letters wide (which would accommodate the supplements suggested in 9-10), with fr. 2 coming after fr. 1 (in fr. 1.8-15 we may have the left edge of col. 1, while in fr. 2 we have the right edge and part of the right margin of the presumed col. 2).

2 The particle *γάρ* suggests some kind of discourse, such as a narrative text or an elaborate commentary. At the end *εκα[* could be the beginning of a verb, e.g. *εκα[λείνω]*, but a word beginning with *εκα[* is equally possible.

3 We may consider the noun *φραδαί*, which is a poetic word (cf. e.g. P. O. 12.9 *τῶν δὲ μελλόντων τετόφλωνται φραδαί*; B. 19.17; A. Ck. 94; Theoc. 25.50), so that we may think of either a text with certain poetic elements or, more likely, a text with quotations from poetry. Another possibility, suggested by FJP, would be *ἀποφράδας*, which would fit the traces well. As GBD/A suggests, this adjective could indicate days on which sacrifices were offered to the dead (see Suda s.v. *ἀποφράδας*) and thus refer to a situation such as is described for Euthycles in Call. fr. 85a.1-16.

4 A reference to Locri seems fairly certain. In the late sixth / early fifth century BC, Locri was famous for its athletes; see e.g. L. Moretti, *Olympionikai* (1957) 83f. Particularly famous were Euthycles (cf. Call. fr. 84. 85a), Euthymus (Call. fr. 98-99b and 635 Pf.; Paus. 6.6.4ff.; II 222 i 12, 25), Hag-

csidamus, and Ceton. The first two were turned into heroes; see A. Hönle, *Olympia in der Politik der griechischen Staatenwelt* (1972) 101-4, and for Euthymus also 6 n.

At the beginning of the line one could consider e.g. *ἐρε[ίδη]*.

5 *δυσαιο[*. It is uncertain to what the notion of justice refers. It may be worth considering Paus. 6.6.5 about the fining of Theagenes by the Hellanodikai after his boxing match with Euthymus, in which he had exhausted himself so that he was not able to do the pancration.

6 The noun *πύκτην* and the reference to boxing here and in 10 in combination with the mention of Locri in 4 would fit a passage about Euthymus, who was a famous boxer. He won three times at the Olympian games, in 484, 476, and 472 BC, and was beaten by Theagenes of Thasos in 480 BC; cf. Paus. 6.6.4ff. and see Ebert pp. 69ff.; Harder on Call. *Asia* fr. 98-99b.

7-9 The combination *ἐτι μὲν οὖν* in 7 suggests a narrative or argumentative text, and the same can be said about 8 *καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα* and 9 *δὲ καί*.

8 At the end of the line WBH suggests e.g. *εἰ[σπῶρα]*.

9 At the beginning of the line perhaps *ἐτι δὲ καί* as in e.g. Thuc. 1.80 etc. or, as WBH suggests, *ἐτι δὲ* responding to 7 *ἐτι μὲν* (one could also think of something like *ἀρα[ετι]*, which would fit a context about games, but in view of *κατηνέμευες* in 10 this seems less likely). At the end *τῶν κρε[εῖων]* would be a possibility, but one could also think of an ethnic (perhaps *Κρε[εῖταιον* for *Κρεαίων*, although there are no other instances of this kind of spelling in this papyrus).

10 The verb *κατηνέμευες* is attested twice in relation to the defeat in boxing of Amycus by Polydeuces; cf. Σ A.R. 2.98-100a *κατηνέμευθησαν . . . αὐτῶν (sc. Λάμων) ἀπὸ Πολυδεύου; Σ Lyc. 316 κατηνέμευες*. The verb would fit the story of Theagenes defeating Euthymus in boxing as told in Paus. 6.11.4 *Ἐθθμῶν γε ἀε καταμεγαλῶτο τὸν πύκτην καὶ αὖ ἀπὸ Ἑλλείων ἀπεβλήθη τῶν Θεαγένει ἡμίαι* (cf. also 6.6.5 *ἀπερβλήθητο κενεῖτος τὸν Ἐθθμῶν*).

At the end of the line *οἴ[* might be the beginning of the object of *κατηνέμευες*, e.g. *τῶν ἀριστην*, which might be combined with the plural genitive in 9.

11 One may consider *ἀκούσι* (optative) or *ἀκούσι* (inf.); the optative plural *ἀκούσι[ε]*, which would imply some kind of address, seems less likely, because there seem to be traces of only one letter between the gap and *κροτων[*. There a reference to Croton (e.g. *Κρότων, Κρότωνος, Κρότωνι, Κρότωνα*, or possibly *τ[ῶν] Κροτων[ωνάω]*) would fit the presumed context, as this place was famous for its athletes and was the home of victors like Astylus, Phayllus, and Milon of Croton; cf. Call. fr. 616 with Pfeiffer ad loc.; St. 6.1.12 2650 with Radt ad loc.; D.E. 369; and see in general H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (1964) 110ff. For Astylus cf. also Call. fr. 666; for Milon Call.(?) fr. 758. On the other hand, after the reference to 'hearing' one could also think of some form of *ἀρπιαίε* 'arpiariae' (see further on fr. 2.5). WBH attractively suggests e.g. *ἐκρίσι* *ἀκούσι τ[ῶν] Κροτων[ωνάω]*, 'one can hear from the people of Croton (that)' (perhaps with *ἐτι*: 9).

12 Here *δ' κολοῦμε[ν]ος Τημε[κατος]* might fit. This would call to mind the story of the boxer (cf. 6 and 10) Euthymus of Locri (cf. 4), who defeated the so-called hero of Temesa; cf. Call. fr. 98-99b; Paus. 6.6.7-11.

13 A compound with *αιολοπ[-]* is possible, but one cannot exclude other possibilities such as *καίαι ολωπ[-]* or *οἴω λοπ[*. In connection with *αιολοπ[-]* it may be relevant to compare Theoc. 22.34 *Κάκτωρ δ' ἀδίσπαστος δ' ὄνιστος Πολυδεύκτης* from a context about the boxing match between Polydeuces and Amycus.

14 The division of the letters is uncertain, but *χ['] ἄρα* *ε[.] . [.] ἢν* *ε[ο]ρ* *χ['] ἄρα* *ε[.] . [.] ἢν* *ε[ο]ρ* seems more likely than *χ['] ἄρα* *νε[.] [ο]ρ* *χ['] ἄρα* *νε[.] [ο]ρ* *ε[.] . [.] ἢν* *ε[ο]ρ*, which seems certain and may well be part of the accusative of an ethnic (?) adjective going with the noun ending in *-ἢν* or in *-ἢν* followed by *ἢν* or *ἢν* (as suggested by WBH).

15 Here *ἀγ[ε]με[ν]* is attractive and would fit the space. This adjective can refer to boys of a certain age group (the 'beardless') taking part in the games (see LSJ s.v. *ἀγέμενος*); cf. e.g. IG



XII.5 608.0 [Φ]αῖδευτ' ἄνθρωπος ἀγέλευτος καὶ 26 Ἰπρίους Πρωτόθεος ἀνεύωτο; Pl. O. 8.54; 9.89; Paus. 6.6.3. WBH considers that e.g. ἄν[α]ν would be better suited to the space ('a certain Aegleus'); cf. also fr. 8.4 n.

16 One can think of ὀδύε[ ] or ὀδύε[ ]. The stray ink below ε is hard to explain.

17 Περιάρη α[ ]ουα[ ] (GBD'A).

18 ] . . . ουντ[ ] [ ]α[ ] could be read. A reference to ἀγωγή in the sense of 'training' would be possible.

## Fr. 2

2 ] εἰδὲθρ. The end of the line calls to mind the use of oak as a wreath. Oak wreaths are attested for games held in honour of Zeus/Jupiter (the Lykaios, the Naai at Dodona, and the Capitoli) and for the Sebasta Romaea at Smyrna; see L. Robert in *L'Épigramme grecque* (Entretiens Fondation Hardt XIV) 267 = *Opera Minora Selecta* vi 403 with n. 5; LXIII 4352 fr. 5 ii 39 n. However, 'when Ovid says [*Met.* 1.445 ff.] that the original prize at the Pythian Games was an oak garland which was later changed to laurel (or bay), he is almost certainly indulging in free invention with regard to the oak' (A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 70).

3 At the end of the line perhaps δ Ἄρης. It is not easy to see how Ares would fit a context of games, but some possibilities are suggested by Pl. O. 10.14 f. (on the Locrians in a victory ode for the boxer Agesidamus of Locri) μέλει τε σφίσι Καλλίστην / καὶ χάλκεον Ἄρης καὶ Ebert 70.3 f. (on the boxer Athanichus, who died in a war) ἐν θούροσ Ἄρης δ[ ]ε[ ]α[ ]εν or by Paus. 5.20.3 (on a statue of Ares at Olympia), adduced by WBH.

4 This could be the nominative γαίωρ or the dative without an *α*-adscript, but the form is unusual and attested only in later poetry (usually the nominative in poets is γαίω, with γαίωρ in oblique forms). As the line-filler does not necessarily imply the end of the preceding word, but only that, if the word continued, the next full syllable would make the line too long, one could also consider compounds such as γαίωθρ, γαίωγής, γαίωρος. In any case the word suggests a poetic quotation.

5 With κρο one may think of Croton (see on fr. 1.1), but there are other possibilities as well. (1) In a context of wreaths one should also consider a form of κρόταφος, as wreaths were placed 'at one's temples'; cf. Ebert 73.4 κροτάφοι(ς) θα[ ](λ) ἐν ἐπ' ἀμφεθέμην καὶ 79.6 [κα] φέρον Τερμιακῶν ἀμφεθέμ[ ]ν κροτάφοι(ς); but it would be hard to explain φέ. (2) One could also think of κρότος 'ap-plainte' as in e.g. Luc. *Chiron* 8.11 ff. (on the dead Milo who comes) πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῷ ἀμαχωνίτῳ τῶν ἀναγωνιστῶν καταπλασθεὶς τὸ θανάτῳ . . . μνημόνων τῶν σφειδῶν τούτων καὶ τῷ κρότῳ. Although a more common expression is μετὰ κρότῳ, a context with φέ is also conceivable, cf. e.g. Plb. 15.32.10 κροτήριον πᾶς δ' ἴσταν ὑπὸ τῷ κρότῳ καὶ τῆς κροανῆς. (3) There is a story that the girl Smilax fell in love with Crocus and was transformed into the creeper smilax (on which see below); cf. Ov. *Met.* 4.285; Nonn. *Dion.* 12.85 f.; Plin. *NH* 16.154; H. Baumann, *Die griechische Pflanzenwelt in Mytilos, Kunst und Literatur* (1982) 85.

6 ] μιλια. An oblique case of Μίλων, the famous athlete from Croton, is possible and would fit well if 5 κρο were a reference to Croton; see on Milo in e.g. Call. (?) fr. 793; Str. 6.1.12 2690, where he is called ἐπιφανέστατος . . . τῶν ἀθλητῶν, and the references in Radt's n. ad loc.; Ebert pp. 182 ff. Alternatively one may think of a form of (ε)μιλος. According to LSJ, this noun is synonymous with (ε)μιλας in the sense of 'yew' (*Taxus baccata*), but not with (ε)μιλας in the sense of 'bindweed' (Smilax aspera), a kind of evergreen creeper which is the material for wreaths in Eur. *Ba.* 702 f. κισσῶν / σφειδῶν θρύοις τε μιλακός τ' ἀνθεσφόροι; 105 ff.; *Ar. Nu.* 1007 (on the plant's nature see further Dodds on *Eur. Ba.* 108; Baumann (5 n.) 85). This makes a reference to (ε)μιλος here a little less likely, but where so much is uncertain one should not exclude this possibility altogether (see also above on 5). In fact Hsch. c 1256 εμιλος δειδύρον . . . οἱ δὲ πῖνον. ἄλλοι μιλακα, ε σφειδωνόουσι and Nonn.

*Dion.* 12.85 where Smilax (see on 5) is called ἐκτεσφόρον . . . κροτήρ may offer some support for the notion of the (ε)μιλος being used for wreaths.

A third possibility may be a proper name, but the only possibilities seem to be Κάκμιλος (the fourth of the Cabiri according to Σ.A.R. 1.916-18b) or with an itacistic error the boxer Καεμίλος of Rhodes (cf. Page, *FGE* 808 f.).

7 If this is from a context about Croton and Milo, one may think of κατε[ ]πάλαιος or κατε[ ]πύκτερος as suggested by WBH (cf. fr. 3 i 2).

10 This could be either ] εἰς τῶν or ] εἰων. In the latter case the context would suggest something like ἀγων[ ]εἰων or ἀναγων[ ]εἰων, but this does not exhaust the possibilities and one could, e.g., also think of something more specific such as παλαι[ ]εἰων or παγκρατια[ ]εἰων or of a superlative.

11 Either Μεγαρίς (the Megarians) or Μεγάρως of the wife of Heracles, first mentioned in *Od.* 11.269 f. For games in Megara cf. Pl. O. 7.86 on Diagoras of Rhodes, who among many victories also won ἐν Μεγάρωσι. In the case of the wife of Heracles two points deserve notice: (1) the genitive form is poetic (the prose form being Μεγάρως); (2) Pl. *L.* 4.104b mentions games established for her children, who were killed by Heracles: κατ' ἑτος Θηβαῖοι ἐναγίζουσι τε τοῖσ τεταῖ καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους ἔθουσι.

14-16 In 14 one may think of e.g. τῆν ἀγο[ ](σά), which would go well with the reference to an inscription in 15 τοῖσ ἐπίγραμμα[ ](μα). One could then think of a statue with an inscription for an athlete in his home town. There is evidence of victors' statues in Locri for Euthycles (Call. fr. 89a.9 ff.) and for Euthymus (Call. fr. 99), though without mention of the agora as location. Statues for victors with inscriptions at the sites of the games are also often mentioned in Pausanias (cf. e.g. 3.8.2; 5.20.8; 5.21.4 ff.; 6.1.6 f. etc.) and victors' epigrams have been collected by Ebert. It is conceivable that this text, like Pausanias, uses these inscriptions as sources, as in e.g. Paus. 6.1.7 ἄνθρωπος δὲ δ' Πολυκλέης ἴππος, ὡς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγει.

In 15 εἰς]εἰν seems likely, and starting from the notion of a writer's inscription being quoted (as in e.g. Paus. 6.4.6) EJP very tentatively suggests: τοῖσ ἐπίγραμμα[ ](μα σῶτος εἰς) "Νί]ετρ [ ]ετρῆος σ[ ] (proper name) ἀ[ ]]λας παλάμασ" α' δε[ ] (ε fr. 3 i 1).

One may also think of an accusative with infinitive as in e.g. Paus. 6.16.4 ἤριστεθι δὲ Ἥλεια γυνεὶσ μὲν ἔδωλον νίετρ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι, γυνεὶσ δὲ καὶ διαύλων Πυθῶ τοῖσ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἔδωλον or of νίετρ as the object of a verb of 'taking' as in e.g. Paus. 3.8.1 νίετρ ἀνέλετο Ὀλυμπικῶν or 6.15.6 νίεκα . . . λαβῶνα.

## Fr. 3 col. i

1 The likeliest supplement seems to be παλάμασαι, a poetic word with a poetic dative. For hands in a context of athletics one may think of the applauding audience (cf. e.g. *AP* 16.36: 3 f.) or of hands as an athletic instrument, as in wrestling (perhaps suggested by line 2) or in the pancration; cf. e.g. Ebert 76.7 ἐστὶ γὰρ εἰς παλῶν παλάμας μόνος οὐκ ἀπέθανε, 40.3, 43.4, all about pancratiasts, for whom the force of their hands was particularly important; for this particular form in an elegiac inscription, cf. IG XII.1 129.7 ff. as the form suggests, we have a poetic quotation here, it may also be relevant to recall passages such as Pl. O. 10.21 θεῶν ἐν παλάμασι, P. 1.48, *N.* 10.65, about the 'riants' of the gods.

2 One may think of the compound verb κατεπάλαιεν (Lobel), as in Paus. 6.15.3 ἐν Τερμια παλαιεῖσ κατεπάλαιεν ἀνδρας about Cleitomachus of Thebes, but also of πάλαιος or εἰ πάλαιεν (which is hapax in Pl. *N.* 8.27). In all cases the notion of wrestling could perhaps be connected with the mention of 'hands' in the previous line.

4 φόντερος suits the traces better than φόντερος. Then \*πλλάξ [ ] πλλάξ[ ]-ιαι, etc. (line 1 gives the margin) (WBH).

5 Here *ἑπαιεσσο* is likely. The verb would fit passages about athletic defeat, as in Ebert 76a.7 (quoted on 1) and 39.6 [παι]εσας δ' ἀντιβέβαιος, but also Dio Chrys. 31.95 ὡς δ' ἐπαιεσσο καὶ ἤκει εἰς τὴν παρτίβη about the retirement of Theagenes.

6 Some form of *ἐπιβέβαιος* is likely and would fit the context, as it may refer to athletic performance; cf. e.g. Pl. *N.* 11.14 ἢ ἄλλοιους ἀμειρετέων ἐπιβέβαιος βίαι; P. 4.253; Ebert 40.3 ῥέμαρ δὲ χερῶν ἐπιβέβαιος[1]αι; GVI 425.4.

7 Perhaps ] καὶ τῶν (GBD'A).

## Fr. 4

The recto is blank except for remains of one line at the top. This blank space may be the lower margin of the documentary text, but in that case the literary text, which occupies the whole height of the fragment, must have had a lower margin that was surprisingly short in comparison.

4 Here *ὑπ[ε]βέβημι[ένος* or *ὑπ[ε]βέβημι[ς* vel sim. seems a likely supplement and could refer to somebody surpassing others, as in e.g. Paus. 8.20.3 τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερβεβημένους παρθένους, Str. 8.3.23 348c Ὀμήρου δ' εἰς ταῦτα ὑπερβεβημένους πάντας, or to a strong emotion, as in e.g. S. Pl. P. 4.213a ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐξαιρέτως καὶ ὑπερβεβημένους ἦσθ. At the beginning of the line τῶν may suggest the accusative *ὑπ[ε]βέβημι[ένον*.

5 Perhaps one may read -]τῶ θύνατον ἐνάσι, with the adjective used as in Pl. *N.* 9.39 χερσὶ καὶ ψυχῇ θύνατοί, but -]τ' ἀθύνατον cannot be excluded.

6 Several divisions of the letters are possible. One could e.g. think of ἀπαυτήσια, a form well-attested in (particularly later) Greek prose, as in e.g. D.S. 12.9.6 πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἀπαυτήσια.

7 After the paragraphus the words ὁ τῆς ἐλάσιος στήθεος might begin a new section and suggest that the text may have been arranged according to types of wreaths. Even so, as we have only this one example and the other fragments do not particularly point to an emphasis on wreaths, the point should not carry too much weight in the identification of the 'genre' and general contents of the papyrus. The paragraphus could also simply mark sentence-end, in which case the sentence in 7 may have begun in the latter part of 6.

A garland of wild olive was awarded to Olympic victors, and the word *δαδα* is often used in this connection; cf. e.g. Pl. *O.* 4.11 δαδαία σφραγισθεὶς Πλεάνθ; 11.13; Hdt. 8.26.2; Ebert 68.1 f.; LXIII 4352 f. 3 ii 99 n.

## Fr. 5

1 Perhaps *Μαντιν[ε]ίς* as part of a reference to a victor from Mantinea, as in e.g. Pl. *O.* 10.70 (Samus, the son of Halirhothius and grandson of Poseidon, who won the chariot race in the first Olympic games); Paus. 6.7.1 (Pytharchus); 6.9.9 (Agametos).

2 ]τῶς[. This is probably a reference to winning three times in Olympia. There are other references to winning several times in certain games in fr. 9.2 τῶς ἑ [ and 12.3 τῶς ε [ . The motif of several victories is also well-attested in epinician poems and victory epigrams and mentioned by Pausanias; cf. e.g. Pl. *O.* 7.81 ff.; 8.74 ff.; P. 11.21 ff.; L. 1.10 ff.; AP 13.14, 15 and 19; 16.52; Ebert 25, 34 and 35; Paus. 6.4.6. See further W. H. Race, 'The Six Crowns at Pindar, *Isthmian* 1.10-12', *GRBS* 30 (1989) 27-39.

For victors winning three times in Olympia see Moretti, *Olympionikai* 13.1 (Euthymus of Locri); 23.1 (Dorieus of Rhodes); 25.3 (Sostratus).

3 Here too one may consider *Μαντιν[ε]ίς*. Then *πρ.* [ could be a reference to the first Olympic games, as in Diphilus iamb. 1-2 W. δ Μαντινείος ἔθνος, | δε πρότος ἄρμας' φλαξεν παρ' Ἀλφειῶν.

4 ]δαρε[. [ Some form of *ἀρετή* seems likely and would fit the presumed context; cf. e.g. Pl. *O.* 7.89 ἀδρα πὲρ ἀρετῶν εὐρόντα.

5 If the context is still about the Olympian games (see on 3) one could consider *μέ|λλου* v. [ or

*μέ|λλου* [ as part of a reference to the river Alpheus and possibly from a poetic quotation; cf. e.g. Pl. *O.* 9.18 Ἀλφειῶ . . . ῥέεθρον; 13.36 ἐπ' Ἀλφειῶ | ῥέεθρον. Another possibility would be a form of *πρω|έθρον* or of *πλό|έθρον* in a reference to running.

6 ]πρεθ[. [ If part of one word, perhaps some form of *πρεθ*, but one could also think of e.g. *ἀ|πρεθ*[ε, as GBD'A suggests.

## Fr. 7

2 One may read ]αθλη and think of some form of *ἀθλημα* (GBD'A) vel sim. (the traces do not suggest *ἀθλητή*).

## Fr. 8

4 ] Φαρ[αλ-. The brothers Agias, Telemachus, and Agelaus were famous Pharsalian athletes of the fifth century (CEG II 794-5 = Ebert 43-3). Ἀγ[α]λ[α]σων is a possible supplement at fr. 1.15' (WBH).

## Fr. 9

1-3 These lines are about someone who won (several times?) in the Pythian games, three times in Nemea, and perhaps in Pellene. Between Nemea and Pellene there would be room for another place and in 1 there might be a reference to Olympia at the end of the line. We know of no athlete who fits the bill exactly but there is evidence of similar frequent victors (see on fr. 5.2). In particular, AP 13.19 on Nicolaides of Corinth comes close to what we have here: he won once in the Pythian games, at the Panathenaea, at the Isthmian games, thrice in Nemea and four times in Pellene, as well as on several other occasions (but not, apparently, in Olympia).

As in fr. 1.9-12 one would need at least c.21 letters in line 1 (e.g. *ωλ[ι]μιαται τρις | συ|θαι*).

## Fr. 11

3 ]ρηου[. There are several possibilities, including e.g. a form of *πρω|ρός*, but also *τῶ|ν ἥρω* [ , which may be compared to Paus. 6.6.7 *ἀμαχέατο* πρὸς τὸν ἥρω about Euthymus fighting the Hero of Temesa; cf. also Ael. *VH* 8.18; Str. 6.1.5 253-6C.

4 If the preceding line were about Euthymus here *Και|έμου* referring to Euthymus' father, the river Caecinus, might be a possibility (but the reading is not entirely certain); cf. for the connection between Euthymus and the river Paus. 6.6.4; Ael. *VH* 8.18.

## Fr. 12

3 Perhaps a reference to winning thrice in the Isthmian games. This is recorded of Dicon of Syracuse in AP 13.15.3 and of Nicolaides of Corinth in AP 13.19.5 as well as of an unknown victor in Pl. fr. 6a(h). On multiple victories see further on fr. 5.2.

## Fr. 13

1 ] εαυ[εν[. Here we may have a reference to Theagenes of Thasos, a famous and successful athlete, who among other things defeated Euthymus in boxing in Olympia. His career is described in Paus. 6.11.2-9 (including a list of his victories in 6.11.5); see also on fr. 1.5. However, this does not exhaust the possibilities and one could alternatively divide the letters as ] ε αυ[εν[ and e.g. consider a form of *ἀ|νεθεος* as in fr. 1.15 (see n.).

2 Perhaps a reference to Theagenes winning in Nemea. Cf. Paus. 6.11.5 and Ebert 37.10 on his winning nine times at the Nemean Games.

Fr. 17

<sup>1</sup> The most promising division of the letters seems to be  $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon$   $\sigma\epsilon\phi$ . In a context of athletics this recalls phrases such as Ebert 72A-4  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\alpha\iota$   $\gamma\alpha\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$   $\upsilon\delta$   $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\delta\alpha$   $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ; IG XII.1 40.6 [ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\iota$ ]  $\sigma\alpha\iota\epsilon$   $\upsilon\delta$   $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\omega\upsilon$   $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$ . In 2  $\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omega\upsilon$  may support this notion.

Fr. 44

Probably in a different hand: note e.g. damaged  $\mu$  in 2 beginning with a curved stroke instead of an upright (WBH).

Fr. 49

<sup>1</sup>This fragment is in a different hand (note delta and sigma) and the upper margin (apparently preserved to its original height) is much shorter than that in fr. 9. (The recto is blank except at the very bottom and provides no guidance.)<sup>1</sup> (WBH).

<sup>1</sup>  $\eta$   $\tau$ ]  $\gamma\epsilon$   $\Delta\theta\eta\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ [a would fit the traces. For the expression cf. e.g. Plu. *Comi. praec.* 138B.

M. A. HARDER

## 5193. HISTORY OF GAMES

40 5B.111/L(1-2)

7.2 x 20 cm

Fourth century

Two fragments combine to form one column of 29 lines. The upper margin survives to 3.5 cm, the lower to 0.75 cm; the left-hand margin is lost, but the run of the text suggests that line 27 is complete at the beginning; the right-hand margin remains in the lower part of the column, at full width (1.2 cm) in lines 12-13, where a faint trace of the next column can be seen. This gives a roll height of at least 20 cm; column height 15.7 cm, width 6.5 cm, lines of c.18-20 letters. The back is blank.

The hand is a version of Severe Style, written assertively with a thick pen that produces a certain contrast of thick and thin strokes. Increasing contrast marks the development of Byzantine versions ('sloping majuscule'), and we would assign this specimen to the transitional group (e.g. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 49 = XXXIV 2699 and *GBEBP* 2b = P. Chester Beatty XI) anchored round similar scripts in the Theophrastus archive (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 70, *GBEBP* 2a), which have an objective date of c.325. Letters may be reduced in size at line-end. Elided vowel omitted; 9; *scriptio plena*, 20 (both doubtful readings). Diaeresis on initial iota, 26; no other lectional signs. No clear example of iota adscript written or omitted.

The earlier part of the text mentions Isthmian (Games), legislation, Sicyonians and Corinthians, (their tyrants) Kleisthenes and Periander, and an education with (athletic) exercises. In 21 ff. the author waxes indignant about an evil ( $\tau\acute{\omega}$   $\delta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ) that spread from the Isthmian to the other Games, and something shameful in relation to *leponikai*, i.e. victors in such Games. To understand the theme we need to identify  $\tau\acute{\omega}$   $\delta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . Various traditional elements might contribute:

(1) *Victors and scandals*. From Xenophanes on, authors criticize successful athletes as overprivileged and socially useless. See S. Müller, *Das Volk der Athleten* (1995) for an overview of the material. Add LIII 3699 (a) col. iv (tt AB), a dialogue about the futility of wealth and strength.

(2) *Isthmian Games*, which the text seems to regard as a precedent for the organization of the other Games. Mythography recognized, apart from the contest organized by Poseidon and Helios (Eumel. fr. 8 B. = 22 W), a first foundation by Sisyphus in memory of Melicertes, and a second by Theseus, who developed a local night-time ceremony into a festival accessible to all Greeks (Paus. 2.1.3; Plu. *Thes.* 25.4-7; IG XII(5) 444 ep. 20). A third stage is the historical reorganization as one of the Panhellenic Games, at some date in the early sixth century. See further R. L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography ii* (2013) 483-4.

(3) *Kleisthenes and Periander*. The Isthmian Games naturally fell under Corinthian hegemony, but Periander has no recorded connection with them: in fact, according to Solinus 7.14, they were discontinued by his father Cypselus and reinstated only after the fall of the Cypselids (traditionally in 582). An Olympic chariot victory is assigned to Periander by Ephorus, *FGHHist* 70 F 178, doubted e.g. by Moretti, *Olympionikai* p. 182 no. 1017. Kleisthenes, on the other hand, has strong associations with games: he won chariot victories at the Pythian (582) and Olympic Games (576 or 572); founded new Pythian Games at Sicyon, with his spoils from the First Sacred War; and organized athletic competitions for the suitors who assembled to bid for his daughter Agariste (Herodotus 6.126). The history of Sicyon forms the subject of another handsome fragment, XI 1365 (MP<sup>3</sup> 2181, LDAB 404), but the script and format of that piece show that it does not belong to the same roll.

(4) *Paidia*. It may be worth remembering the (legendary) activities of their contemporary Solon. His legislation fixed or limited the cash reward payable to an Olympic victor at 500 dr., to an Isthmian victor at 100 dr. (Plu. *Sol.* 23.3, D.L. 1.55). Diodorus 9.2.5 shows him doubting the civic value of athletes, but he can still appear in Lucian's *Anacharsis* debating the part of athletics in Athenian society.

(5) *Askemata* were a central part of the athletic career as it developed; and so athletes can be referred to as *ἀσκητᾶι* (e.g. Plato, *Resp.* 3.404A); see in general J. Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen i* (1965) 191-7. Classical critics object to the regime or specifically the diet; and such criticism may involve a contrast between an earlier ideal and a later degeneration, a stage of self-training and a stage of professional trainers. Galen, *Adhorr.* 13.10 contrasts natural strength with artificial training ( $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\upsilon$   $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$   $\sigma\theta\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta$   $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\eta$   $\delta\lambda\theta\eta\tau\iota\kappa\eta\eta$   $\iota\epsilon\chi\theta\eta$   $\upsilon\delta$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\alpha\theta\lambda\eta\tau\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\upsilon$   $\sigma\delta\alpha\kappa$   $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon$ ). So Philostratus' *Gymnastikos* refers to great athletes like Milo, and their mythical predecessors, and notable achievers even  $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\upsilon$ : but 'now', though natural endowment is the same as ever, a false system of training ruins athletes (§2, cf. §§43-54). This 'now' must be taken in its rhetorical sense: Philostratus speaks as if he were living in the fourth century BC,



upright? [foot of sloping upright 9 ], ink rising from left to right high in line ρ . . . point level with letter-tops [upright 10 ], oblique back as of ε or ε̇ or c 11 ], minimal trace on single fibre projecting to the left, roughly at mid-height ε̇ . . . cap and back as of ε or c; dot at mid-height and, 2.5 mm further right, point level with letter tops 12 ] . . . first, remains of horizontal at line level, joined at right by two short diagonals combined as < (together, lower loop of a and part of upper?); second, lower part of upright, trace of cross-bar joining on right (ε̇, η?); third, point on edge at two-thirds height with another vertically below at line level φ . . . sloping upright, further ink to right (oblique and second upright of η?) 13 ] . . . right-hand tip of high horizontal touching upper arc of small loop 15 ] . . . two traces at two-thirds height on projecting fibre [part of sloping upright 17 ], diagonal sloping down from left to right, junction near top (A, Δ, α) . . . [sloping upright immediately after α; ink at mid-height below damaged patch; tapering oblique tail below line 18 ] [a short ascending oblique on the line 20 ], ink on straggling fibre 21 ], top of upright [lower end of sloping upright below line level 22 ], tip of horizontal touching π just below the top ρ . . . upright, horizontal extending rightward at the top 23 ] . . . right-hand half of cross-bar, with traces suggesting an upright on the right; sloping stroke 24 ] . . . . . , high speck; trace on edge at top level; remains of diagonal rising from left to right, then trace almost at top level; perhaps η; high diagonal trace on edge; foot of upright; lower half of ε?; abraded traces, perhaps ε.g. right-hand side of γ followed by base and part of left-hand side of c 25 ] . . . speck at top level; traces of descending oblique joining sloping upright; minimal trace at line level 26 ] . . . . . upright joined at the top on the right by a short cross-bar; small left-hand arc on edge at two-thirds height; foot of diagonal rising from left to right and perhaps foot of diagonal descending from left to right; scattered ink from two more letters υ . . . sloping upright; two traces at upper level, second perhaps right-hand arc 28 ] . . . point on edge, level with letter-tops ε̇ . . . or damaged ε 29 ] . . . horizontal at mid-height joining (lower part of) upright ] [high cross-bar

12 ff. . . Games came to be introduced to the Greeks [So] it is no wonder that the Sicyonians and Corinthians, as Kleisthenes and Persander [wished in their drunkenness?], augmented their (the Greeks') education with [similar?] training exercises. For the horror flashed across from the Isthmia to the other Games . . . with them daring, shamelessly and indecently, to [make] the contestants "sacred victors" or "crown-wearers" . . .

- 1 ]καμνησος ρη]. On the face of it, as Dr R.-L. Chang observes, a participial form, i.e. (-)καμνησ(ς), (-)καμνησ(η)ς].  
 2-3 Δ[γν]σ[φ]ε Κυκωνίους καθ[ισ]τεράς?  
 4 DC suggests Έλλ[λ]ακα και γ[γ]ο[σ] Έλλ[λ]ητρας.  
 7 δευτερο[σ]τα? A second stage in the history of the (Isthmian) Games? Myth certainly recognizes two stages; see introd.  
 9 παρ' Ἴθβαυο [; probably -law. We do not see how 8-10 fit together. παρ[ισ]θβαυο (one word) exists, but it seems always in the derived sense 'guller', and in the plural 'inflammation of the tonsils'.  
 10 λερονία? c  
 10-11 Very doubtfully, [ω]στ[ε]ρ [ε̇]ε̇ τ[ο]υο] νόμοσ θε[σ]εω. But the supplement in 11 looks rather long; and in any case the stripped area before ]ω[ may have been blank.  
 11-12 αι[. . .] . . . perhaps δι[κ]ρα[σ]θ[η]ς.  
 14-21 might be reconstructed thus (see detailed notes):  
 ὄστ' ἄδδὸν βαυμασῶν C-  
 13 κωα]ήσοσ και Κορηθ[ι]σοσ,  
 ὄστ[ε]ρ] Κλασθένης και

Περ[ισ]θροσ ἐν παρο-  
 νίε [βου]θ[η]σοσ, παυδελ-  
 αε πα]ρὰ τοῦτοσ ἀδ[ε]φ[ο]σ  
 30 με]τὰ ἀ[δ]ελ[φ]ωμάτωσ ἀνα-  
 λ[ο]γ[ω]σ.

14 ὄδδὸν βαυμασῶν: a common formula, often introduced by διὰ, ἐξ ἂν, και, ὄστ[ε], and followed by εἰ or by the accusative and infinitive.

17 εσοσ . . . [εναρσθ] would suit the ink; then perhaps litte end, but there would be space for up to 2 more letters (or 3, if written small as in 15) before the right-hand margin.

18-19 παυδελ[ac]: cf. Thuc. 2.39.1 ἐν ταῖσ παυδελαισ οἱ μὲν ἐπιτόσο ἀδ[ε]φ[ο]σ εὐθ[ι]ς νόσο ἄν[ε]ρσ τὸ ἀνδρ[ε]ῖοσ μετ[ε]ρχο[ν]ται. The singular παυδελ[ac] seems rather long for the space.

20 ἀ[δ]ελ[φ]ωμάτωσ: commonly of systematic exercise, physical or intellectual. See Judiner (192 f.; RE Suppl. VII 50 ff. So e.g. Xen. H[er]p. 3.6 και γὰρ τῶν μὲν γυμνασῶν ἀδελ[φ]ωμάτωσ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν β[ου]θ[η]σ ἐπινοοῦνται, τῶσ δὲ τ[ε]λευτῶν τὸ πλεῖστοσ μὲν ἴδωσθ[ε].

20-21 ἀνα[δ]ελ[φ]ωμάτωσ suits the space well [better than e.g. ἀνα[δ]ελ[φ]ω[σ]]. But should it mean 'similar' (to those already used for the Isthmia)? or 'proportionate' (to their purpose, or by contrast with excessive training)?

22 ἀναρ[ε]σθ[η], 'was transmitted' (like a message through a chain of beacons).

24-5 Cf e.g. [Dem.] XXV 68 (LXXVIII 5150) δὲ δὲ ἀναρ[ε]σθ[η] . . . τομῶν λέγειν δ' ἀναρ[ε]σθ[η]σ, Euseb. PE 1.2.5 ἀναρ[ε]σθ[η] . . . και ἀναρ[ε]σθ[η]σ. Before ἀναρ[ε]σθ[η] possibly εἰθ[η]ς.

26-7 λερονίασ ἢ σφραγισθ[η]σ. For the history of λερονίασ see S. Remijnse, ZPE 177 (2011) 97-109, who finds the first epigraphic example c.130 BC; W.J. Slater, ZPE 182 (2012) 170, 174-5. In the Roman period, the term commonly refers to members of the international associations of athletes, and often in combination with σφραγισθ[η]σ. σφραγισθ[η]σ can also describe the ἀγῶν, otherwise called σφραγισθ[η]σ (Hdt. 5.102, And. 4.2).

28 . . . ]εἰσθα: infinitive governed by καταρ[ε]σθ[η]σ; e.g. πο]ι[ε]σθα.

28-9 ἀγῶν[ε]σθ[η]σ εἴη] would fit the space.

W. B. HENRY / P. J. PARSONS

#### 5194. ENCOMIUM OF THE LOGOS

49 5B.99/D(18-21)b

6.5 × 18.6 cm

Second/third century

This piece (MP<sup>3</sup> 2527.1; LDAB 7077; CIPP 330) was first edited by A. Świderek, *Eos* 56 (1966) 83-6; among secondary literature mentioning it, see: L. Pernot, *La Rhétorique de Viloque dans le monde gréco-romain* (1993) i 65; F. Porc Domingo in J. A. Fernández Delgado et al. (edd.), *Escuela y literatura en Grecia antigua* (2007) 421-3. Restoration has eliminated the vertical fold mentioned in the ed. pr. and a small fold at the start of line 27.

A single column is preserved, written along the fibres; the back is blank. The column consists of 35 lines, preceded by the initial tude, arranged over two lines. Upper margin is preserved to c.1 cm; lower margin to c.1.2 cm; left-hand margin to c.2 cm. 5194 could represent either a single sheet or part of a roll (probably but

not certainly the beginning, since the title stands at the top of the column). It is not clear whether the text ended with the column, or continued into another. If it continued, we might have a sheet with more than one column, like the *Encomium of the Fig*, XVII 2084, or a roll collecting various progymnasmata, like the rhetorical anthology P. Mil. Vogl. I 20.

The hand, smallish and generally upright, can be ascribed to the Severe Style. Some irregularities and variations in size can be noticed: compare, for example, the second and third alphas in line 4; the broad gamma of line 21 with those of lines 5 and 6; the very small theta of line 7 with those of lines 28, 29 and 30. As WBH observes, the execution is more careful in the title and first sentence (where the writer heightens the more formal effect by adding two rough breathings).  $\lambda$  and  $\alpha$  can be very similar (see the second  $\lambda$  in line 37); the first  $\lambda$  in line 7 has an oval loop slightly inclined to the right instead of the wedge shape of the other alphas. Among objectively datable papyri in this style, a close parallel is II 232 (Pl. IV), ascribed to the second/third century on the basis of the cursive on the back, also assigned to the second/third century.

To judge by the most plausible supplements, the letter count varies from line to line: line 6 has 22½ letters, line 16 24½, line 17 22½, line 24 20½ (counting iota as a half-letter). Of course, one has to take into account not only the main feature of the Severe Style, viz. contrast between narrow round letters and broad square ones, but also the somewhat irregular execution of the script in 5194. In such conditions, the actual line length may be a better guide than the letter count, and that ranges between 7.4 cm (24) and 8.1 cm (3).

Punctuation and reading marks are due to the same hand, and probably copied as part of the text. Paragraphus with high stop 12, perhaps 19 (stop lost in lacuna?); high stop without paragraphus 5, 25?, 31, 35; high stop where paragraphus might be lost in lacuna 8, 15. Middle stop (without paragraphus) 23 (see 19–23 n.). It seems that the scribe used paragraphus to mark major divisions, not for every sentence-end. No elision marks: unmarked elision 5, 14 (βδ), *scriptio plena* 3, 10 (α), 26 (τε). Rough breathing of the first type (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> pp. 11–12) occurs twice (4, 5). Iota adscript is not written in the three places that require it (4, 12, 35, all dative -ω). There are itacistic spellings (ε for ι 27 and 32). A correction by the same hand but slightly smaller than the main text, a complete word added above the line, occurs at 10.

5194 is very likely the work of a student and represents an instructive example of the progymnasma called *ἐγκώμιον*. The subject of this encomium—*Logos* as attribute of the god *Hermes*—belongs to the category of *πρόγραμμα*, which includes abstract things such as activities and moral virtues, according to the standard handbooks; see Theon, *Prog* ix, p. 78.16–19 Patillon–Bolognesi; [Hermog.] *Prog* vii 1, p. 194 Patillon; Aphth. *Prog* viii 2, p. 131 Patillon; Nicol. *Prog* p. 57.9–13 Felten. Interestingly, in Nicolaus' passage, Rhetoric is mentioned among the pos-

sible topics. Aphthonius offers as a full-scale example the encomium of *κοφία* (*Prog* viii 10, pp. 134–7 Patillon), comparable to that of *δικαιοσύνη* ascribed to Libanius (VIII 257–61 Foerster). Among the encomia surviving on papyrus, note the piece on *αἰδώς* preserved in P. Lond. Lit. 193 fr. 1 (ii/iii), and the sketchy encomium of *τάξις* transmitted by LXXVI 5093 fr. 1+2 → ii 9–32. For further detail on progymnastic encomia and their relationship with high literature, see 5093 introd., pp. 89–90, and fr. 1+2 → ii 9 n.

Some literary reminiscences can be detected. Much of the material looks back to Isocrates (see 19–23 n., 28–31 n.); the opening may have been modelled on Xenophon (3 n.); the writer may affirm his culture with tags from epic (8–10 n.) and Pindar (19–23 n.). This is hardly surprising: Isocrates and Xenophon belong to the canonical models of rhetorical training (see, for instance, Theon, *Prog* ii, pp. 12–13 Patillon–Bolognesi on the issue of imitation; pp. 102–4 on the practice of reading), while the influence of poetry on progymnastic practice is well-known (see R. Webb in S. E. Porter (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric* (1997) 346). In the context of traditional rhetorical education, note the Attic form *τήμετρον* (11 n.), and the avoidance of hiatus within the sentence.

The reference to 'the present festival', clearly in honour of *Hermes*, father of the *Logos* (4–5, 11), suggests that the piece was composed to be performed at this celebration, possibly in the Gymnasium, possibly as part of a student competition. On the identification of the festival, see 5 n.; on *Hermes* as god of gymnasia (VII 1015 *9 γυμνασίων . . . ἐπίσκοπον*), see 5093 introd., pp. 89–90; on such competitions in the Graeco-Roman world, see Pernot, *La Rhétorique de l'Éloge* i 63–4, and A. Stramaglia in L. Del Corso, O. Pecere (edd.), *Libri di scuola e pratiche didattiche* (2010) i 130–35, who singles out the *διδάσκειν* held at the *Capitolia*. Two other compositions found at Oxyrhynchus seem to fit the same context: the above-mentioned 2084 (iii), *Encomium of the Fig*, the fruit sacred to *Hermes*, and a set of verses from the same find, VII 1015 (iii), originally entitled *Ἐρμού ἐγκώμιον*, then *εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐγκώμιον* (for Theon, the gymnasiarch (?) whose praises occupy most of the poem). For a comparable piece, perhaps also composed for the festival of the god, see the encomium of *Dionysus* in P. Köln VII 286. The *Harmenasmata Montepessulana* (CGL III p. 285.12–18 = p. 656 § 6) mention the composition of a progymnastic encomium on *Jupiter Capitolinus* (cf. Stramaglia, l. c. 135 with n. 70).

1015, where a cursive hand has added substantial variants between the lines, has been taken as the author's autograph (T. Dorandi, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 20); and similarly LXVIII 4647, *Encomium of the Horse* (see introd.), since it is hastily written and poorly spelled. 5194 may provide another example, but the only real evidence is the script, which loses discipline as the column descends: there are no variants, just a single correction, and the orthography is more than competent.

The god *Hermes*, with *Logos* as his attribute, could be identified with the syncretic deity *Hermes/Thoth* worshipped in Egypt (see G. Fowden, *The Egyptian*

*Hermes* (1986), esp. 22-4, 68, 75-6; cf. below, 3-4 n.). However, 5194 shows no influence of any Hermetic doctrine in a strict sense.

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λο. οῡ  
εγκώμιον

τομε. . υ[ ]σημα. . ο[ ]  
ώκαθηπαρ. υσα. [ ]  
5 πανηγυρ. ιν' οσαδα[ ]  
υλο[ ] γη. . . . . μεντονε[ ]  
εσομεθατοπ. . . . . [ ]  
. [ ] γου' κα[ ] γαραν. ιη. [ ]  
τατονυν. [ ] . . . . . [ ]  
10 κοντα. ποδουνα[ ]  
τεκαιθουμενη. [ ]  
θ' ω' αλλοσιμενουη[ ]  
οτιπε[ ] . . . . . ενεργ. [ ]  
ακδουκαπεαι. [ ]  
15 [ ] ω' οτιγαρνευτυ[ ]  
οσαγαθ. υτουλογ[ ]  
παρονταμιον. [ ]  
πανταχρον. υ. [ ]  
υκλειανεκαρπω[ ]  
20 ελοντιγαρειπει. [ ]  
ολογοσπαντω[ ]  
καισθανατ[ ]  
ων' διεπεικαιιδ[ ]  
ταθεβαικαταα[ ]  
25 χρηματα' καιδι. [ ]  
θεου. εεργωμε. [ ]  
ειδου. αμε. . . . . υμ[ ]  
μαμεθακαι. [ ] [ ]  
μαθεκαιπ. [ ]  
30 εετταμεθα. [ ]  
μεθα' καιοσαμ[ ]  
ποδεστημεν. [ ]  
τουσματος. [ ]

λόγου  
εγκώμιον

τὸ μὲν εἶρημα ὃ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ  
ψ̄ και τὴν παρούσαν [ ]  
5 πανήγυριν' ὅσα δ' αἶν τὸν λόγον  
εὐλογῆς. μεν τὸν Ἐ[ ] μὲν ἔπαι-  
ρεσόμεθα τὸν πατέρα ὄντα τοῦ  
λ[δ] γου. κα[ ] γὰρ ἂν εἴη. [ ]  
ερατον νῦν μ[ ] . . . . . ιετ[ ] προ-  
10 ἤκοντα ἔπαι[ων] ἀποδοῖνα[ ]  
ἔτε και θύομεν τήμετρον τῷ  
θεῷ. ἄλλος μὲν ὄν η[ ]  
15 ἴω τι ἐπ[α] η[ ] κείν ἔργω[ ]  
πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπαυ[ ]  
[ ] ω; ὅτι γὰρ ἂν εἴτυ[ ]  
20 ος ἀγαθὸ τοῦ λόγου, οὐκ εἰς τὰ  
παρόντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸν ἄ-  
παντα χρόνον. [ ]  
εὐκλειαν ἐκαρπώ[σατο] συν-  
ελόντι γὰρ εἰπεῖν [ ]  
25 δ' λόγος πάντων ἠθηγῶν  
τε και ἀνάστα[ων] βασιλεύ-  
ων, διεπέει και δι[ ]  
τὰ τε θεία και τὰ ἀγνῶραπει-  
30 α χρηματα. και δι. [ ]  
θεός τε ἔγγνωμε [ ] και ναός  
εἰδονεσόμεθα βρω[ ] οὐς τε εδει-  
μάμεθα και. [ ] [ ]  
30 εσόμεθα και πολ[ ] γείας συν-  
εετταμέθα νήμονε τε ἐθέ-  
μεθα. και ὅσα μ[ ] ἐν χείρες και  
πόδες ἡμεῖν. [ ] οὐ τῆ  
τοῦ σώματος εἰώμη πάντα

αυτακατορθ. [ ]  
5 λογω' καιοικια[ ] 35 ταυτα κατορθο[ ] ἴμεν ἀλλὰ ὄψ  
λογω. και' οἰκία[ ]  
οικουομεν. [ ]  
ανεργ. αἴ. μ[ ]  
οικουομεν. [ ]  
αν' ενεργα[ ] ζομ[ ]

1 ο., right-hand end of high horizontal stroke 3 ε., top of diagonal descending from left to right; 2 mm to the right, upper half of upright on right-hand edge of hole 4 η., left-hand arc, e or c α., damaged traces suggesting small round letter 5 ο., remains of triangular letter; λ, more likely than λ 4 παρ. of ε the descender and lower part of loop 6 υ., bottom arc [ ]  
upright, joining another stroke (now lost) at right 5 υ., remains of small top arc above hole that extends into the next line 6 υ., upright in upper part of writing space on left-hand edge of hole 7 . . . , scanty remains of 2-3 letters on lower edge of hole; tiny traces in vertical alignment; 1.5 mm further on, tiny trace at line level; 1.3 mm on, upright descending below line level 7 . . . , trace in upper part of writing space, on left-hand edge of hole and joining at mid-height a nearly horizontal stroke; second, remains of cross-bar at top level; third, traces in upper part of writing space and at line level, possibly round letter; fourth, part of upright on damaged area 8 [ ] lower part of diagonal ascending from left to right, very close to another trace at mid-height on edge of hole extending above and on its right 9 . . . , minute trace at mid-height after large hole [ ] upright slightly slanting to right, whose top joins on the edge a stroke, probably horizontal, now lost 9 . . . , short horizontal trace at top level 9 . . . , upright joining at top diagonal descending from left to right [ ] . . . first, scanty traces very close to each other in upper part of writing space, slightly above mid-height; second, remains of small oval roughly at mid-height and below hole 1, left-hand arc [ ] remains of upright with curving lower extremity; above, traces in horizontal alignment on damaged fibres suggesting cross-bar 10 ε., horizontal at mid-height, almost touching following upright, either ε1 or η 10 . . . , remains of triangular letter on damaged surface 10 . . . [ ] added in the interlinear space; 11 . . . , remains of near-vertical, whose top joins short horizontal to right [ ] upright slightly slanting to right whose top joins on right stroke descending gently from left to right; 0.5 mm further on, two tiny traces, close together, at top level 11 . . . , right-hand arc [ ] left-hand arc 12 η., two traces on right-hand edge of hole, one at top level and one at mid-height 13 ο., tiny trace at line level [ ] . . . , two tiny traces at line level in horizontal alignment with each other, on edge of large hole 14 . . . , two traces in vertical alignment, one in upper part of writing space and one at line level [ ] small faint traces suggest upper part of left-hand arc 14 . . . , tiny trace at mid-height on edge, sloping down from left to right, then short thin horizontal trace at line level [ ] diagonal stroke ascending from left to right, whose top joins a (possibly horizontal) trace to right 16 ο., two traces in vertical alignment, one at mid-height and one at line level 16 . . . , remains of right-hand arc on damaged fibres 17 [ ] lower part of diagonal ascending from left to right 17 . . . , trace at 18 υ., lower part of right-hand arc on edge of hole extending above and to its left [ ] trace at line level, possibly tip of diagonal ascending from left to right 19 . . . , υ trace at mid-height on edge 20 [ ] diagonal ascending from left to right 21 φε., most of right-hand arc of φ lost in hole 22 . . . , vertical trace at line level, possibly foot of upright 22 . . . , remains of two parallel horizontals, one in upper part of writing space, one at mid-height, 1 mm apart; hole extending below horizontals, one in upper part of writing space, one at mid-height, 1 mm apart; hole extending below 25 [ ] lower tip of diagonal ascending from left to right 25 υ., lower half of left-hand arc on 25 [ ] lower tip of diagonal ascending from left to right 26 υ., lower half of left-hand arc on 26 [ ] slanting joins another stroke, probably an upright, the rest lost in a hole to the left and below [ ] slanting upright 27 υ., traces on damaged surface suggest left-hand arc 28 ε., first, two tiny traces very close together, in diagonal alignment descending from left to right, one at mid-height and one

in lower part of writing space, on the edge of large hole extending above and to their right; second, diagonal stroke descending from left to right, to the right of the same hole  $\sigma$ , thick stroke slightly sloping to the right and joining at mid-height another, nearly horizontal, stroke  $\tau$  28  $\iota$ ,  $\tau$  or left-hand part of  $\pi$  29  $\nu$ , first, two tiny traces very close together, almost in vertical alignment at line level; above, in upper part of writing space, short horizontal trace in vertical alignment with the previous traces on edge of large hole extending to its right; second, two tiny traces very close together in horizontal alignment, at line level on lower edge of the same hole  $\nu$ , fibres damaged; three very tiny traces very close together in upper part of writing space;  $\epsilon$  1 mm further on, concave ink, perhaps right-hand arc  $\zeta$ , fibres damaged; lower part of upright slightly slanting to the right;  $\epsilon$  2 mm further on, horizontal trace in lower part of writing space, slightly above line level, in vertical alignment with tiny dot at line level on damaged fibres (possibly just discoloration) 30  $\iota$ , remains of square letter,  $\mu$  or  $\eta$  32  $\iota$ , upright, no join visible at top 33  $\iota$ , upright descending below line level; scanty traces round its top 34  $\alpha$ , scanty remains of cross-bar at top level  $\zeta$ , left-hand arc 36  $\nu$ , first, scanty, faded and blurred traces in upper part of writing space and at mid-height, suggesting triangular letter; second, upright descending below line level  $\nu$ ,  $\iota$ , upright slightly slanting to the right, followed, 2.5 mm further on, after hole, by two traces in vertical alignment, one in upper part of writing space and one at line level; 1.5 mm further on, two minute traces in vertical alignment and very close together, in lower part of writing space 37  $\alpha$ , no traces before a ( $\alpha$  ed. pr.)  $\rho$ , join between two strokes in upper part of writing space, above hole  $\zeta$ , left-hand arc on edge of hole

#### (Title) 'Encomium of the Logos'

'The Logos is the invention of the god in whose honour also [we celebrate] this present festival. And in however many praises we confer [on the Logos], we shall be praising Hermes as father of the Logos. For it would be . . . to render suitable praise [to the Logos] now? especially, when indeed we are today sacrificing to the god. Now, one [of us?] has decided to praise one attribute [of the god], one another: but how could I [we?] not praise [him] [for the Logos]? For whatever success [anyone] achieves, when the Logos [he shares in?] is good, he reaps the reward of [greatest?] renown not only for the present, [but for all time]. For, to say it briefly, the Logos, [giving over] all things, both [mortal] and [immortal], manages and orders 34  $\mu$ , whatever success [anyone] achieves, when the Logos [he shares in?] is good, we came to know the gods and established temples and built altars; and we [founded cities?], and constructed constitutions and established laws. And in everything that hands and feet [offer us?], in all this we succeed [not through the strength] of the body [but] through the Logos. And we manage households[?] (and properties with the Logos) producing in [us the necessary skills?]

1-2 The title is highlighted by horizontal strokes above and below the initial and final letters(s) of each word. Comparable ornamentation is relatively common in titles of standard papyrus rolls and syllogoi: see e.g. M. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale nei rotoli librari greco-egizi* (2007) 78-9 (on initial titles), E. Schironi, *τά μέγα βιβλία* (2010) 23-4 (on end-titles).

3 As FJP points out, the incipit interestingly echoes the opening words of Xen. *Op.* τὸ μὲν ἔφηρμα θεῶν, Ἀνδρόκλῳ καὶ Ἀργεῖμῳ, ἄγρα καὶ κένωσ. In *ἐφάρμα* the scribe left a letter space between  $\nu$  and  $\rho$ , presumably because the papyrus was already flawed or damaged.

3-4 The supplements are taken from the ed. pr.; cf. 7-8. For Hermes as inventor and father of the Logos, see D. L. Gera, *Antic Greek Ideas on Speech, Language, and Civilization* (2003) 115-18. Thus Aristotle, fr. 23 Wehrli τῆν διὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ προσημαίναν μάλιστα πάντων τιμῆσι δοκεῖ Πυθαγόρας . . . πάντα τὰ πρόγματα ἀπεικάζων τοῖς ἀριθμοῖσι. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἀριθμῶς ἔχει καὶ λόγος ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἀριθμῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους . . . Αἰγύπτια δὲ ἔφηρμα θεῶν εἴρημα, ἐν θαλάσῃ Θιῶν (note

that here *Logos* is closely associated with *ἀριθμῶς* and contains a nuance of 'counting'); Herm. in *Phit.* p. 253.25-8 Couvreur (on Plato's account of Theuth) καὶ ἐναθάλα σὸν τὸ περὶ τῶν λόγων εἴρημα τῷ δεκαντῷ ἔφηρῃ ἀνατίθωκε; [D.H.] *Rhet.* 7.2, p. 285.8-13 U.-R. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἀθηναῖοι δέουσι ἐν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου προσημασίας καὶ ἐπισημασίας, ὅπως μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφηρῳ τὸ καὶ ἱερακλέους μαθητῆς τε καὶ ἑλληνῶν (ἀνδρῶν δὲ μὲν εἰρημῶν τοῦ λόγου ἢ αὐτῷ χρίσμα λόγους ὁ δὲ εὐν τὴν ἰθρημῶν πάντα καταύρωσαν τὸ ἐπισημαθῆνα: ἢ δὲ τὶ ἐν ἄλλο εἴη ἢ οὐκ τε καὶ ἰσομοί); Ael. *NA* 10.29; *Orph. Hymn.* 28.4 and 10; Nonn. *Dion.* 26.284. See also the reconstructed magick hymn to Hermes, GDRK 59.8 (PGM II p. 249) 2 λόγους ἀρχηγῆρα γλῶσσας, 4 παμφόρους γλῶσσας μούσων.

Plato, *Crit.* 407b-408b offers an etymological interpretation of the name Hermes as the creator of the Logos, probably influenced by Homeric exegesis: see T. M. S. Baxter, *The Cratylus* (1992) 125-6 with n. 84; F. Buffière, 'La Notion de "logos" dans l'exégèse d'Homère', *BLE* 34 (1953) 55-60; D. Sedley, *Plato's Cratylus* (2003) 95-6. Beyond this, Hermes is often identified with the Logos itself, see e.g. Ph. *Anat.* 757b and *Is.* Or. 373b, or qualified as λόγους, see e.g. Ael. *Aristid.* Or. 3.663, p. 511.11 Lentz-Behr; Luc. *Pseudol.* 24, *Apol.* 3, *Call.* 2; Max. Tyr. Or. 19.1.4-5 Trapp; Philostr. *VA* 5.15.

4-5 τὴν παροῦσα [ ] | παρηγοῦν. Compare in general P Köln VII 286 (encomium of Diogenes) fr. a.3-5 | τὴν παρηγοῦ[ ] | τὴν συναγαγῶ[τ- ] | φηροῦσακα[. The lacuna must contain a verb: perhaps ἄγομεν (as Men. Rh. I 366.18 Russell-Wilson ἢ μὲν παρηγοῦν ἄγομαι θεῶν) or τελοῦμεν (as D.S. 6.6.4 οἷτε θεοὶς οἷτε παρηγοῦντες ἐτέλε). Both these fit the space, and so might ἀδύομεν (cf. Sopater 10.2, p. 48.15 Weissenberger = *RG* VIII 68.13-14 τὴν φερῶν ἀδύομεν τῷ θεῷ). Longer compounds such as ἐνδύομεν (e.g. Isoc. *Rhet.* 1) and ἐκ-/ἐπι-/συντελοῦμεν (e.g. D.S. 31.1.26, 3.2.2, 1.97.3) seem excluded.

The combination παροῦσα παρηγοῦν is frequently attested, especially in Christian texts; see e.g. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 15, *PG* 35.912.1-2; Or. 19, *PG* 35.1048.44-5; Or. 38, *PG* 36.317.2. 5 παρηγοῦν. As E. Perpillou-Thomas, *CE* 61 (1986) 301-19, esp. 394, points out, from the end of the second to the fourth century, this word is used in documentary texts to indicate festivals strictly linked to the Gynnasium, and assumes a political connotation, while the word φερῶν seems to carry a more specific religious meaning; cf. L. Casarico, *Αεργῆς* 64 (1984) 153-62; D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (1998) 98-9. However, XVII 2084, which celebrates Hermes through his favourite food, the fig, uses παρηγοῦν (6-7) and φερῶν (26, miswritten φοο?) in referring to the same festival. For general discussion of the Hermaia, see Perpillou-Thomas, *Plétes d'Égypte préhistoriques et romaines* (1993) 91-3.

ἄσα δ' ἄν τὸν λόγον WBH: ἄσα δ' [ἄν ἔλλα] ed. pr., which is in any case too short. The sense must be any praise of Logos will be praise of the god who invented Logos.

6 ἐλογησῆς μὲν: between  $\sigma$  and  $\gamma$  there is a blank space (the upper right-hand part occupied by a small hole). The scribe probably left a space in order to avoid some damage or imperfection in the writing material (cf. 3 n.).

ε μὲν: before  $\mu$  an upright trace whose upper part inclines slightly to the left, and then a hole with minute traces on the broken lower edge. The ed. pr. printed ἐλογησῆσμεν, which certainly suits the grammar; in that case the upright ink represents the right-hand curve of  $\omega$  in the gently concave form seen in 15 | $\omega$ . I have considered also ἐλογησῆ[σ]μεν (or ἐλογησῆμεν, taking into account the tiny trace on the lower edge)? and ἐλογησῆ[σ]μεν (in which case the tiny trace must be taken as accidental: note that the omicron usually lies slightly above the baseline), but then the use of an optative after ἄσα δ' ἄν needs to be justified.

For ἐλογῶν, see Pernot, *La Rhétorique de Pléges* I 117 n. 6: 'Elogia, elogio sont surtout poétiques et testamentaires, et peu employés dans la rhétorique épiciédique d'époque impériale (bien qu'il y ait des emplois dans la rhétorique classique et hellénistique . . .). Selon Alex. Noum. 4, 7-9, *elogia* s'applique seulement aux éloges en vers, et "millemeum" (ml pautim: cf. *ibid.* 2, 26; 3, 11) aux discours'.

6-7 ἔφηρμα ἐπι||ρεσῶμεθα ed. pr.

7 τὸν πατήρ|τα ὀνομα τὸν WBH: τὸν πατήρ|τα τοῦ] ed. pr., too short.



8-10 The final traces in 8 suggest τ or π; then 9 εριστος suggests a superlative. After that the scanty traces, and the spacing, would allow νη [ν]ή[μ]η[α], a common combination; here it is used in correlation with ζεε (1). In the lacuna in line 10 we need a date governed by ἀποδοῖσαι[ε]. Thus the following reconstruction of these lines can be proposed: κα[ί] γὰρ ἀν εἴη π[ρ]ο[ς] (or παρ, both GBD'A) θεοσεβ[ί]στ[α]τος (or εὐσεβ[ί]στ[α]τος, both GBD'A) νη [ν]ή[μ]η[α] τ[α] τ[α]ν π[ρ]ο[σ]θήκοντα ἕναι[σ]ιν φησίδαι[ε]. τὴ φ λόγου [πρὸς]θήκοντα ἕναι[σ]ιν ἀποδοῖσαι ed. pr., τῷ λόγῳ WBH). Hiatus at the end of a pause to be tolerated since there is a reference before the subordinate clause starting in 11 with ζεε.

Alternatively, as FfE suggests, 8-9 may adapt a formula traditional in beginning the praise of a deity: κα[ί] γὰρ ἀν εἴη π[ρ]ο[σ]τάτης τε καὶ ὑπε[ρ]στάτου (or perhaps omitted τε to save space); cf. Theogn. 3, *Hom. Hymn.* 21.4, *Hel. Theog.* 34, Theoc. 17.1f. with Gow's note.

9-10 For ἀποδοῖμαι with προσήκων and ἔπαινος, cf. *Phi. Maior. vit. 224* μετά τὴν τελευταίῃν τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀποδοῖσαι ἔπαινος (specifically of making a speech). I am inclined to think that φησίδαι[ε] here is used in the general meaning of praise rather than as a synonym of εὐκωμίαον. On the distinction between the two terms found in rhetorical handbooks, but not strictly applied in the actual usage, see Pérois, *La Rhétorique de Pléage* i 117-27, esp. 121 with n. 28 and 126-7.

10 ἀποδοῖσαι[ε]: ἀποδοῖσαι ed. pr. (no longer present).

11 ἤμειρον E. G. Turner in the ed. pr. ἤμειρον Ἁπικου, ἡμέρον Ἑλλήνων Μοερίσ. The same form occurs in a text of the same type, XVII 2084 (10), a prose encomium by a student (see introd.), where, however, the alternative form *cum* is also used (23); see R. Luiselli, *A Study of High Level Greek in the Non-Literary Papyri from Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Diss. London 1999) 155. For the Attic form in literary prose of the Roman period, see W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus* (1887-97) iv 232. In documentary papyri, ἡμειρον is universal, except for a few ambitious texts of the third and fourth centuries AD.

τῷ: τοῖσιν τῷ ed. pr., too long for the space.

12-13 WBH suggests ἄλλοις μὲν ἀν ἡμῶν ἔλλησι δὲ ἐπ[η]μερῶν ἔθεσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, comparing *Aphth. Plog.* viii 11, p. 135: 1-2 θεῖον (σοφίης εὐκωμίαον) ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ ἔλλοι τῶν θεῶν ἀπεργασθεῖς . . . ἄλλοις ἔλλοι τῶν θεῶν ἀπεργασθεῖς. As he notes, the implication would be that different speakers have chosen different aspects of the god as the matter of their encomia, perhaps in competition on the same occasion. Our speaker chooses λόγος; the author of 2084 (for a similar festivity?) chooses the fig. a much more cunning approach.

14-15 The general meaning is clear: the *Logos* is such a relevant attribute of Hermes that it is the 'obvious' choice, so to speak, to praise it as an appropriate way of praising the god himself.

14 τῷ ed. pr.: the initial trace most suggests the foot of a diagonal descending from left to right, as ε, but the surface is damaged, so that the right-hand upright of a π may not be excluded. Then ε.g. πᾶς δ' ὅκιν ἀν ἔπαισιχρον ἐπὶ τῷ λέ[γ]ο[σ]ι[ν] (WBH). If however λ is read, one could tentatively suggest the alternative supplement ἔλλησι δ' ὅκιν ἀν ἔπαισι[- with ἤ] later in the clause, 'But in no other way than . . . could I (we) praise him'.

15-16 The initial traces of line 16 perhaps suggest the branches of κ or χ. Turner proposed *δει γὰρ ἀν εὐνήσχερις τις ἀν μέτο[σ]χο[ς] (or κείνο[σ]χο[ς])*, then *ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ λόγου (ed. pr.)*. This would fit the space, provided that we write εὐνήσχη or omit ὄν. For the concept cf. *Didym. Caec. Comm.* in *Caes.* i.10 ὁ κάτοχος τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου; S.E. *M.* 7.133 κατὰ μετοχὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου. However, the position of ἀγαθοῦ gives a strange word order. An alternative, *δει γὰρ ἀν εὐνήσχερις τις κήρο[σ]χο[ς] ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ λόγου (FfE)*, avoids this difficulty, and introduces an allusion to Hermes' role as κήροσ ἀθανάτων, but requires us to assume that εὐνήσχειν can take simultaneously a genitive and an accusative of respect.

16-17 The supplements are taken from the ed. pr. except εἰ τὰ | παρόντα (FfE): the ed. pr. prints εἰ τὸν | παρόντα, referring to τὸν ἄριστον in 18. TLG finds four examples of εἰ τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, e.g. *Lib. Epist.* 685.5; εἰ τὰ παρόντα is very common. The ed. pr. had *καὶ εἰ ἄλλα*, but there is no room for it.

18 The final trace, a rising oblique, might allow ε.g. μ[ε]γίστην (GBD'A).

19 ἑκαρτώ[εατο] (gnomic aorist) ed. pr., n. ad loc., quoting Xen. *Cyr.* 8.22 ἐκ ταύτων καρτώματα ἀφῆλεταν καὶ ἐβόλαιαν: καρτώματα ἐβόλαιαν remains a rough expression, see *Lib. Declam.* 24.4, 25.37; *Tr. Via Hel.* 96 Colonna; Marcellin. *Sch. ad Hellen. Stat.*, *RG IV.* 420.20-21. The ed. pr. puts ἐ(ε)καρτώ[εα] in the text (ἐ(ε)καρτώ[εα], Turner), but this compound is attested only in the middle.

19-23 As the ed. pr. points out, these lines echo *Isoc. Nic.* 9: εὐ δεῖ δεῖ ἀνθρώπων περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν τῶν προνομίως παρατηρούμενων σὺρφεύουσι ἀλόγως γινώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ τῶν διανοημάτων ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνα λόγον δοῦναι.

The same function of universal ruler is attributed to τάξις in LXXVII 5093 ii 9-11, with comparable wording: τάξεως ἐφυκωμίαοι. δ[ὲ]τις] κυλιερέε τὰ θεῖα κ[αί] α[ἴ]α [τ]ῷ ἀνθρώπων] θηλοῖ ἢ τῶν οὐρανίων τῆξιν.

The ed. pr. prints *εὐνήσχερις γὰρ εἰπεῖν [μῦθος] ὁ λόγος πάντο[σ] ἄρχης πραγμ[ά]τ[ω]ν καὶ ἀδανάτω[ν] καὶ ἀνθρώπων[ε]ται*; then begins a new sentence, in asyndeton, with *ὁ δέτετι*, perhaps assuming that the middle stop written before this verb signifies major punctuation. But τ[ῶ]ν[ε]ται is incompatible with the traces, and the supplements in 21-2 are substantially too long. The middle stop may simply separate grammatical units within the same sentence (see *GMAWP* p. 9), especially since it is not here accompanied by a paragraphus. I have articulated the text differently, with supplements suggested by FfE, which assume that the author is alluding to the much-quoted description of Nemosis by Pindar, fr. 169a.1-4 *Νέμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς / θανάτων τε καὶ ἀθανάτων / ἄνθρωποι δὲ θανάτων / ὕπερστέρα χειρὶ*. At the end of 20 ε.g. μένος (K. Kumaniecki in the ed. pr.) would probably fill the space (λ and κ very wide).

20 δ[ὲ]ταῦτα (ed. pr.) would leave a short gap at line-end: πάντα perhaps too long, *ἔμα* or *ἔτα* would create hiatus. δ[ὲ]ταῦταῖνον (WBH) would fill the whole space; or δ[ὲ]ταῦταῖνον (Euseb. *Comm.* in *Ps.*, PG 29.1220).

24 ἀνθρώποινα ed. pr.

25 δ' | ἄριστοῦ (ed. pr.) would suit the trace, but leave the line short. Perhaps *διὰ τούτων*.

26-8 [καὶ] παρὸς ed. pr., *βασιλεύει τε εἰσε[ῖ] μὲμνητο Kumaniecki*.

27 εὐβρωσίμειρα, I. Ἦρον.

28-31 As the ed. pr. points out, lines 29-31 echo *Isoc. Nic.* 6 *εὐνεθέστων πτόλις φειλαμεν καὶ νόμους ἐθέμεθα καὶ τόχους εἰρομεν καὶ κχεδὸν ἀπαντα τὰ δι' ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένα λόγους ἡμῶν ἔστην ὁ συντακασσένωσας*. See also next n.

28 [ ] | α[ι]: the first trace τ or left-hand part of π. τ[ῆ]σ[ιν] ἡγέρους ed. pr., but τ[ῆ] seems excluded. Perhaps τ[ῆ]δ[ε]ταῖ[ε]ται, so that we have three features of τὰ θεῖα (26-8) and then three of τὰ ἀνθρώποινα (28-31), each trio proceeding from the most general to the more particular. Then at line-end e.g. τε φικεῖνόμεθα?

29-30 πα[ρ]ετίνας εὐ[ε]κρήματα (or perhaps πα[ρ]ετίνας; cf. for the orthography 27, 32): πα[ρ]ετίνας καὶ εὐκρήματα ed. pr., but *εὐ-* better respects the rules of syllable-division.

30-31 εἴδοντες τε ἐθέ[με]μεθα ed. pr.

31-5 For the interaction of physical labour and intellectual effort, cf. *Phi. An. asp* 797e *ὄν γὰρ αἰ χεῖρες ἡμῶν οὐδ' ἡ τοῦ σώματος βίωσις κτήμα καὶ μέρος ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσων ἡ ψυχῆ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κλάση, δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ φόρησις*. As FfE observes, these lines may have special relevance to activities performed at the Gymnasium, such as running and wrestling. The contrast with the previous section is marked not only by the sentence break (*ἔπειτα* in 31) but also by the use of the aorist in lines 26-31, which deal with past human achievements, and of the present in these lines, which describe the activities of every day.

As to the rhetoric, WBH well suggests that the author drew a simple contrast, 'the achievements of our hands and feet are not due to strength (alone?) but (also?) entirely?' to reason<sup>1</sup>.

31 *δεκα* μὲν χεῖρας καὶ Kumaniecki. Since there seems to be no answering *δέ*, this will be 'μὲν σὺντακασσένωσας' (Delimiton, *Greek Particles* 380ff.).

32 ἦμαίσι, ἰ. ἦμαίσι.

[ : an upright. Kumaniecki suggests ἡ[α]ρμόγους. But the top of the upright shows no trace of a cross-piece to the right, though a junction with a diagonal (descending left to right) is not excluded (u, N, even c7). If the context is indeed the gymnasium, with its sporting contests, we could think of ἡ[ε]κείων.

33-5 οὐ τῆ ] τοῦ εὐματος [δύωμι πάντα ] ταῦτα κατορθοῦμαι ἀλλὰ τῷ ] λόγῳ WBH (34-5 κατορθοῦμαι τῷ ] λόγῳ Kumaniecki, too short for the space). The reverse in Philo, *Det. pot. ins.* 104 δ δ' ἂν καὶ εὐ εὐματων, κατὰ τύχην, οὐδὲν λόγῳ κατορθοῦσι.

35 οἰκία[ε. The ed. pr. understood οικία as οἰκία, with Kumaniecki's ενέκεισθε or φρονήσεσθε to follow, giving in ενέκεισθε . . . θηοικουμένη a chiasmic parallel to κατορθοῦμαι . . . λόγῳ, and offering no supplements for 36-7. I have written οἰκία[ε, assuming that the author progresses from religious observance and civil society to domestic administration, the daily concern of his audience. Supply e.g. οἰκία[ε καὶ οἰκίας (or καὶ πόλεις; cf. Pl. *Mem.* 91a οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰς τε οἰκίας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καλοῦσι θηοικουδείς).

36 θηοικουμένη Kumaniecki.

37 ἐνεργαζοῦμι: ἐνεργαζοῦμαι would continue the series of first person plural verbs, but of course a participle ἐνεργαζοῦμεν is not excluded.

The verb is generally used to indicate something, often external, which produces a physical or mental effect in us. In respect of bodily well-being, see Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.20 ἐνὶ δὲ αἰ μέν βροδουργίας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα ἦδοναι οὐκ εὐματὶ ἐνέβλιν ἰσταναι εἰς ἐνεργαζοῦσθαι, ὡς φασιν αἱ γυμναστῆται κτλ. With regard to the psychological dimension, cf. Plu. *Imit. mil.* 91b καίτοι τὰς ἀκέραια ἐτέρα μείζονα ἀφελειαν ἐνεργαζοῦται τὰς ψυχαῖς κτλ.

Here the effective force is *Logos*, which suggests that *logos* is somehow the subject of ἐνεργαζοῦμι; cf. e.g. Plu. *Phag. an.* 475b τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας ἀναίρει λόγος, τὴν δὲ μετάνωσαν αὐτὸς ἐνεργαζοῦται (90 G and Stob.: ἐργ. cent.) κτλ. This in turn suggests a participial construction, e.g. καὶ οἰκία[ε καὶ οἰκίας] θηοικουμένη. [ . . . εἰθουκί(ε)]σθαι ἐνεργαζοῦμαι (σοὺ τοῦ λόγου. . . and we manage . . . our households and properties . . . with *Logos* instilling (in us) the ability to plan successfully'. The traces [ in 36 might allow e.g. π[ί]σας or π[ί]δωκ.

So reconstructed, the sentence would end with the last line of the column. But of course we have no way of telling whether the text continued in a further column or columns.

D. COLOMO

## II. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

### 5195. SOPHOCLES, *OEDIPUS COLONEUS* 189-201, 204-11, 243-7

101/100(e)

Fr. 1 4.7 × 6.1 cm

First century BC/first century AD

Two fragments of a roll, with writing running along the fibres. Fr. 1 gives part of a single column, and fr. 2 part of the right-hand side of one column and the left-hand side of the next. The edge of a *kollesis* is visible about 1.75 cm to the right of the left-hand edge of fr. 1. The small round upright serified hand is similar to that of LX 4013 + P Köln VI 252 (Euripides, *Orestes*), and may be assigned to the same period: see further Haslam on 4013. On the back, in a less formal hand, an unidentified text, perhaps also literary: parts of two columns with intercolumnium (fr. 1) and part of a single column with no recognizable margins (fr. 2).

Changes of speaker are marked by short paragraphs, now lost wherever the line-beginnings are not preserved, and the contributions of the chorus-leader are indented: for other papyri displaying this use of indentation, see L. Savignago, *Eis-thesis* (2008) 318. Beginning at 195b, a second hand has crudely added a large number of lection signs: accents of all three kinds, a rough breathing (Turner's form 1: *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11), an apostrophe, and a 'short'. Iota adscript appears to have been written at 205/6a, but omitted at 191 if *χρησ* was meant as a dative: see n. Elision is effected but not marked except once in 195b, where the second hand has added an apostrophe. If we assume a colometrical arrangement similar to that of L, with additional line-breaks wherever the speaker changes in mid-colon, the last visible line of fr. 2 col. ii (247) will be the forty-fourth after the last visible line of fr. 2 col. i (209b-11a), which stands at the same level. Ten lines in fr. 1 occupy an area about 5 cm high. The column height will then have been approximately 22 cm; fr. 2 col. i will have come below fr. 1 in the fifth column of the play text. To judge by fr. 2 as supplemented, the distance between one left-hand column edge and the next was about 10 cm, and the intercolumnar space was only 0.75 cm wide at its narrowest.

One other ancient copy of the play has been published, P. Mich. III 140, a papyrus codex leaf giving 136-45 and 180-91, dated by P. Heilporn (APIS) to the fifth or sixth century, and by G. Cavallo (*Il calamo e il papiro* 186, 198) to the fourth. There is no published transcription of the faded text on the back (180-91), but a description and image are available at <http://papyri.info/apis/michigan.apis.1992>. As in 5195, the parts assigned to the chorus or chorus-leader are indented.

5195 confirms the conjecture of Vauvilliers at 205, and it almost certainly agrees with *r* in omitting 198, perhaps rightly. There are previously unknown corruptions at 196 and 197. The colometry is generally unsurprising, but there is

an apparent agreement with P. Mich. 140 against the other manuscripts in the arrangement of the anapaestic 189-91, and an apparent novelty at 209-11.

The collation text is the Oxford Classical Text of H. Lloyd-Jones and N. G. Wilson (1990), and the line numbers are Brunck's, on which those of modern editions are based. The principal manuscripts (LK QR AUY ZnZo T) have been consulted online (LKAY) and in facsimiles held at the Classical Faculty Library, Cambridge. (A is unavailable for most of this part of the play, resuming at 246.) I represents the agreement of LK, r that of QR, a that of AUY, and z that of ZnZo; reports of the Triclinian manuscripts are not included in the notes. Collations were published by G. Speake, *A Collation of the Manuscripts of Sophocles' Oedipus Coloneus* (1978); L. Lomiento, in G. Avezzù and G. Guidorizzi's 2008 edition of the play (pp. 387-403), gives reports of the colometries of certain manuscripts.

## Fr. 1

|        |                              |
|--------|------------------------------|
| 189/90 | ]μεν το δ [                  |
|        | κ]αι μη χρεία πολεμ]ωμεν     |
|        | αυτου μηκει τι τουδ          |
|        | β]ηματος εξω ποδ]α           |
| 194a   | ου]τως                       |
| 194b   | α]λις ως ακουεις             |
| 195a   | η]ς εστω                     |
| 195b   | λέχρ]ιός γ' επ' άκρου        |
|        | λαι]ων βροχης οκλά]λας       |
| 197    | π]ατερ τ]θβ ε]μων εν η]      |
| 199    | β]άσει βέτιν αρμοαι          |
| 200    | γ]εράδων ες [χ]ερα σώμα ς[ον |
|        | ] . [                        |

## Fr. 2 col. i

|           |                   |
|-----------|-------------------|
|           | ] . [ . [         |
| 205/206a  | ] . . τ]ίν αν . [ |
| 206b      | ] . [             |
|           | ] . [             |
|           | ] . [             |
| 209a      | ] υ]              |
| 209b 211a | ] ξ               |
|           | ] . [             |

## col. ii

|     |       |
|-----|-------|
|     | ] . [ |
|     | ] . [ |
| 210 | ] . [ |
|     | ] υ]  |
|     | ] α]  |

## Fr. 1

189-91 To judge by the space available on the left, the first preserved line will have begun το μεν ε]πι]ωμεν (or -ο]ωμεν). Iraz divide instead before επιβα]νωρες (189) and before το δ', with το δ' . . . πολεμ]ωμεν treated as a single colon. P. Mich. 140 appears to have divided as in 5195.

191 χρεία may be meant either as dative, with a for α, or as nominative (wrongly).

192-201 Iraz agree with 5195 in placing colon boundaries before α]δρω, β]ηματος, ο]δρος, η] ε]σθω, λ]αίω, πάτερ, β]άσει, γεράδων, and προκ]λιος (or their equivalents where there are variants), except that Zn divides after rather than before η]σθω; K differs, with β]ηματος . . . ο]δρος and α]λις . . . η]σθω each being presented as a single colon, and the cola beginning λ]αίω and β]άσει omitted. 198 λά μοι μοι where present is normally given as a separate colon (but not in K or Zo; only a short space separates it from 197 in Zn). L begins a new line where the speaker changes at α]λις, and R begins new lines with changes of speaker at both α]λις and λέχρ]ος, as in 5195.

195a η]ς ε]στω. The same letters, variously articulated, in Iraz (η]ς ε]σθω K), η]ς ε]σθω R, η]ς ε]σθω Lyyr. The Oxford editors print η] ε]σθω (Brunck).

196 λαι]ων. A previously unattested corruption of the unfamiliar λαι]ων 'rock' preserved by the other manuscripts (λαι]ων π) and the Suda: 'left' does not make sense, and λαι]ω is not found in Sophocles. It is possible that the copyist responsible had Laius at the back of his mind, though he is not named in this play until line 220; then, since Laius is obviously out of place, the word was accented as 'left'.

200 λέ]λας[ε]αι. The same false rough breathing is found in rYZn. No breathing is applied at IX 1174 iv 10 (Soph. fr. 314.6f) ο]υδ' ε]ξω[ε]ν. Choeroboscus prescribes smooth breathing (περ]ι πνευμ]ατων p. 207). Cf. 20[a]ξ for 20β]ξ at XXVI 2450 fr. 1 i 27 (Find. fr. 169a.32) with n.

197 π]ατερ τ]θβ ε]μων εν η]. For τ]θβ ε]μων, the other copies give ε]μων τ]θβ', and this is needed if the line is to respond to 182, as it does according to Hermann's arrangement. The strophe is defective in this vicinity in all copies including P. Mich. 140, and according to Nauck's arrangement, followed by Jebb and others, 182 would respond not to 197 but to 200. But Hermann's arrangement, with a single lacuna after 183, is preferred by the Oxford editors, and is defended by J. A. J. M. Buijs, *Mnem.* 38 (1985) 79. In any case, the glyconic is likelier in this context.

After 197, Iraz insert λά μοι μοι (198), but this colon is not present in r or in the papyrus. (There is a theoretical possibility that 197 and 198 were written on a single line, but this is highly improbable: if η]ς χρεία ιω μοι μοι is supplied here, the line will be excessively long, almost reaching the left-hand margin of the next column. The other manuscripts nearly all treat 198 as a separate colon: see on 192-201.) In order to preserve the reponson (197 n.), Hermann transposed the exclamation after 199, where the strophe has a lacuna according to his arrangement, and he is followed by the Oxford editors. But it may be better to follow the papyrus and r in omitting the words: see Wilamowitz ap. T. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die dramatische Technik des Sophokles* (1917) 341 n. 0; Buijs (197 n.).

199 β]άσει βέτιν. Any mark of quantity on the first a would be lost. For βέτιν, r has the corruption βέτιμων.

αρμοαι. An accent would have been helpful. The other manuscripts have αρμ]αται, corrected to αρμοαι by Elmsley.

200 γε]ράδων. The same spelling in the other manuscripts. Dindorf writes γεράδων, accepted by the Oxford editors. The papyrus may have had another grave on ]α.

201 The trace suggests the upper end of the right-hand oblique of α, projecting beyond its junction with the left-hand oblique. προκ]λιος[ε] (IQa, followed by the Oxford editors), προκ]λιος[ε] (z), or προκ]λιος[ε] (R) would fit.

The pair of cola missing between the two fragments (202-3) will have occupied two lines in the papyrus.

Fr. 2 col. i

204-11. The following reconstruction seems suitable, though there is much uncertainty in the detail of the supplements:

αὐθασαν τις ἔθηκε βρο[?]ω]ρ  
 τις ὠν παλυσσανος ἀγ[?]η; τίν ἄν ς[ου  
 πατριῶ ἐκπιθουμα]ν  
 ὠ ἔνοι ἀποσολι ἀλλα μ[?]η  
 τι τοῦ ἀπεννευσει γερου]  
 μῆ μῆ μῆ ]  
 μ ἀνερηι τις ἐμι μῆδ ε[?]έ  
 ἐτασχι περα ματεων]

The cola are divided similarly in the other manuscripts, except towards the end. **lra**z all divide at changes of speaker and after βροτῶν at the end of the first colon. As for the remaining colon boundaries, **lax** also divide after *co*β, but at the end, they split *ἐξενεαχμς* after the second (**lax**) or third (**K**) syllable; **r** places *co*β in the third rather than the second colon and divides not in the middle but at the end of *ἐξενεαχμς*. The division after μῆ μῆ μῆ (*soo*g), suggested by Professor D'Alessio, is not paralleled in any of the other manuscripts: see further on 209b-11a.

204 ] . [ ] . : the foot of an upright; the lower end of a steeply descending oblique or of an upright curving to the right. Traces and spaces seem compatible with the expected βρο[?]ω]ρ. In the earlier part of the line, for *τις ἔθηκε* (*Lyp*), adopted by the Oxford editors), LAU offer *τις ε' ἔθου*, **Kr** *τις ἔθου*, **Y** *τ' ε' ἔθου*, and **x** *τ' ε' ἔθου*.

205/6a ] . : a thick trace on the line; an upright. The traces are compatible with the expected α]η]ρ.

τίν ἄν: the papyrus confirms Vauvilliers' conjecture τίν' ἄν, adopted by the Oxford editors. The other manuscripts offer τίνα.

[ ]: only a speck.

In the earlier part of the line, ὠν is the unmetrical majority reading. The Oxford editors adopt δ (*Lyp*).

206b ] . : an upright on the edge.

207 ] . : traces partly on loose fibres, perhaps parts of the first upright and of the cross-bar joining the second upright of η with an acute accent above. In the earlier part of the line, ἀπόσολις is Ebeling's conjecture (accepted by the Oxford editors); ἀπόσολις is transmitted.

209b-11a. The other manuscripts have at the start of the colon μῆ ὄνις (ε) or three times (**lax**), and the Oxford editors follow *Fastening* in printing it twice, but the ε preserved in the papyrus stands much further to the left than it would if the papyrus had either of the attested forms of the beginning of the colon, and it is one line further down than expected. The position of the letter can most easily be accounted for by assuming (as above) that μῆ μῆ μῆ (or whatever occupied its place in this copy) was placed on a separate line; then with the division placed after ε[?]ε, this colon and the next could be taken as a pair of anacronics.

col. ii

This series of line-beginnings matches 243-7 as arranged in **L\***, **A** (246-7 only; see F. G. Gian-nachi, *BullClass* 28 (2007) 74), **K**, and **a** (τ[ου . . . | ς[ις . . . | φ[ι . . . | γ[μετρον . . . | α[ιδου . . .]); **rx** differ only in placing the beginning of the second of these cola after *-oi* (at word-end). A scholium states that 237-57 were aethized, but they are not omitted by any manuscripts.

243 ] . [ ]: high in the line, on the edge, a trace suggesting the left-hand end of a cross-bar.

244 ] . [ ]: the left-hand arc of a circle.

245 ] . [ ]: the upper left-hand arc of a circle.

246 α] : apparently the left-hand side of γ: represented as the (left-hand branch (on the edge), the steeply sloping stem, and an ascending oblique half-serif at the foot.

J. YUAN / W. B. HENRY

5196. ARISTOPHANES, *EQUITES* 716-26

38 gB.8g/K(1-2)b

3.7 x 9 cm

Third century

A scrap from the top of a column, with upper margin extant to 3 cm. It is part of the same roll as LXVI 4511, which preserves the beginnings of *Eq.* 736-46. The two fragments are no doubt parts of a single column, which will have contained a minimum of 31 lines and been at least 17.2 cm high. The back is blank. A repair patch was added before the text was copied, visible in the lower left part of the fragment; as a result, the earlier parts of 724-6 are written across the fibres.

Elision is made tacitly in 725. The copyist wrote diaeresis (inorganic; 724), and perhaps a *ma*tron (721). The accent at 716 is by a second hand, as suggested by the colour of the ink and the pen. In 4511 introd., I expressed the view that '[a]ll lectional signs seem to be by the original scribe', but this does not apply to the accents.

Coulon's Budé edition is the main source of the manuscript readings reported in the notes; I have also consulted the editions of von Velsen (/Zacher), Neil, Sommerstein, and Wilson. The papyrus confirms a necessary modern emendation at 726.

ς]ιτιζεις κακ[ως  
 με]ν ὀλεγον ευτ[ω]ς, c  
 τριπα]λειον κατε[σ]πακας  
 δεξιο]τ]ηρος της ημ[ι]νης  
 720 δ]η]μ[ο]ν ευρον [ ]  
 ] . . . σοφιζε[ται]  
 ] δοξεις καθ[υ]βρ[ι]σαι  
 ο]υθεν κω]λυει  
 μη]θε]ν ημας ιχ[υ]ετω  
 725 ]νη Δι ω πατ[ε]ρ[ο]  
 Δημιδι]ον ω φιλοτ[α]ρ[ο]

717 ευτ[ω]ς c: ἀντιθεῖς R<sup>1</sup>VMS<sup>0</sup>; ἀντιθεῖς R<sup>2</sup>VTS<sup>ms</sup>; ἀντιθέης A.

721 ] . . . : τουνογ]ι RI<sup>6</sup>(τῶδ)→V<sup>1</sup>: τῶδῶ V<sup>2</sup>AT<sup>1</sup>: τῶδῶ γε M: τῶρτῆ γε S. I have tried to read του]τογ]η, but there are serious difficulties: the stem of the putative tau has an unexpected right-

facing serif at the foot; omicron and gamma are vestigial and neither can be confirmed; the apostrophe could also be a circumflex; there might be a diaeresis under the *metron*.

723 οἰσθεσ Aristophanes will have written οἰδδσ here and μῆδδν in 724, and not the forms with -δ-, found predominantly from the fourth century onwards; see e.g. W. G. Arnott, *Alexis: The Fragments* (1996) 89–90. Dr Henry notes that ancient copies are divided between the two forms, with -δ- in 5197 (m/v) at *Pl.* 883 (οἰδδσ), in BKT V.2.111 (v/vi) at *Nu.* 974 (μῆδδν), and in XI 1374 (v) at *V.* 720 (μῆδδν), but -δ- in BKT IX 105 (v/vi) at *Ach.* 609 (μῆδδν) and in O. Bodl. I 279 (i BC) at *Nu.* 974 (μῆδδν); see N. Litinas, *ZPE* 141 (2002) 103–5. For the evidence of documentary papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 97.

724 μῆδδν restored by analogy to οἰδδσ in the previous line.

726 ω is omitted by the mediaeval manuscripts against the metre, and was conjecturally supplied by Elmsley. 5196 now shows that it survived into the Roman period.

N. GONIS

## 5197. ARISTOPHANES, PLUTUS 881 97

A 1B4/R(a)

7 × 14.3 cm

Third/fourth century

A fragment from a roll, blank on the back. The layout was generous: the upper margin measures 4.1 cm, and the intercolumnium is extant to 3.3 cm.

The hand is an informal example of the Biblical Majuscule, written fairly fast. I would assign it to the later third century, if not to the early fourth. Letters occasionally touch (884, 885). Some shading was intended: thin horizontals contrast with thicker uprights. There is some ornamentation in the form of little hooks at the starting-points of obliques that descend from left to right. The cross-bars of ε and ϑ have a downward slope; the horizontal of λ may be extended to the left (884); the stem of γ bends leftwards at the foot. A more informal hand wrote 883, and this is linked to a peculiarity of layout: 884 stands too far down and too close to 885. As Dr Henry points out, it would appear that the scribe for some reason left a single blank line after 882 and slightly misjudged the spacing.

Paragraphi signal changes of speaker under 882, 885, 888, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, and 897; they are very long, occupying the space of four letters where intact (882, 885), and may be by a second hand. The changes at the ends of 884, 889, and 890 are not so marked, but may well have been indicated by dicola in the lost parts of the text; cf. the fourth-century papyrus codex of *Lysistrata* published by Grenfell and Hunt in *Mélanges Nicole* (1905) 217–20 (MP<sup>3</sup> 144), where dicolon may be used either with paragraphus (438) or alone (434, 436). However, the Ravennas does not indicate the change of speaker at the beginning of 885, and it is possible that the papyrus too had no indication in one or more of the places mentioned. More problematic is the presence of paragraphi under 893 and 894, where speaker changes are hard to justify (see 893–5 n.).

The hand responsible for the paragraphi seems also to have added the lection signs: apostrophes to mark elision (885, 886) and after οὐκ (885, 886), and a grave accent at 885, to disambiguate. There is a (hypo)diastole in 883, to assist with articulation, and perhaps (inorganic) diaeresis at 886.

I have consulted the editions of Coulon, Sommerstein, and Wilson.

885 επει [   
 εχθες δ [   
 ουδεν, π[ροτιμου   
 τον δα[κτυλιου   
 885 ἀλλ' ουκ' [   
 αρ' ουχ' υ[βρις   
 ο τι δε π[οιειτον   
 ου[κ   
 890 μα [   
 απ[ο   
 ως [   
 δι[αρραγειη   
 [   
 [   
 895 [   
 [   
 κ[ακοδαμου   
 [   
 [

885 ἀλλ'. The gravis guards against the interpretation ἀλλ'. ουκ [ . The transmitted ουκ ενεστι was changed to οδδεν' ενεστι by Willems, and to οδδεν' ενετι by Coulon in his edition. However, Coulon subsequently argued in favour of the transmitted text (*REG* 50 (1937) 20–21), which is what Wilson prints.

886 υ[βρις. Ink visible over υ[ may well be one of the two elements of a diacresis.

893–5 are assigned to the 'Bad Citizen' (whether he is called *ενοφάντης* or *δδικος*) in the Byzantine manuscripts (and editions), but the paragraphi under 893 and 894 point to changes of speaker in these lines. There are sentence breaks after *ἀρραγειον* at 893 and at the end of 894, but speaker changes at these points are not contextually warranted. The manuscripts offer a confusing picture of the speakers in this scene, but there are extremely few wrong changes of speaker; see K. J. Dover, *The Greeks and Their Legacy* (1988) 257–61.

897 The verse transmitted as 897 has been considered spurious by several scholars; it is a pity that we cannot tell what the papyrus had.

N. GONIS

5198. MENANDER, *MISOUMENOS* 123–54 SANDBACH/523–54 ARNOTT +

103/129(d)

fr. 1 5.3 × 16 cm

Second/third century  
Plat VI

A group of pieces and scraps combine to form fr. 1; the joins are guaranteed by matching fibres or textual overlaps or by both. Fr. 2 seems to belong above fr. 1, though at what interval is not clear: the fibres correspond, and so also the contrast between a darker mottled strip to the left and a lighter strip to the right. Fr. 3 remains unplaced.

The text is written across the fibres, on a surface of poor quality: notice fr. 1.13–22, where the scribe carries on regardless across an obliquely displaced strip of vertical fibres. Column of at least 46 lines (fr. 1, 32; fr. 2, at least 14 more), with a height of at least 22.9 cm; lower margin (fr. 1) of at least 0.7 cm. On the other side, the original recto, remains of cursive: fr. 1 has a left-hand margin of c.3.8 cm; beginnings also on fr. 2 (a large right-angle, suggesting the *ε*-rouc sign) and fr. 3.

The hand is a small capital, written rapidly but regularly with a thickish pen, slightly slanting to the right; it may be assigned to the 'formal mixed' style of Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 22. One may compare the more stylized and angular XXIII 2363 or the rounder XLII 3007. ε and c are straight-baked, ο sometimes tiny and hanging from the notional upper line, γ has a shallow rounded bowl above a central shaft, ω shows a flat base. Bilinearity is roughly respected but π, ϕ, and φ send a tail well below the line.

No lectional signs survive except elision mark (fr. 1.7, 22?; fr. 3.5), and punctuation by single stop (written high, so that it looks like a later addition: fr. 1.17, 20, 29) and by short rising diagonal above the line (fr. 1.18); three such diagonals (fr. 1.22?, 27) perhaps mark a major pause. For change of speaker we have dicolon with *nota personae* (fr. 1.2, 10; fr. 2.13; cf. fr. 2.8 *nota personae*, lacuna on left; fr. 2.12 dicolon, lacuna to right); dicolon alone fr. 1.12? The *notae personarum* may be by a different hand.

Some deletions and/or corrections, apparently by the same hand, perhaps *currente calamo*: fr. 1.11, 16, 19, 22?, 24, 31; fr. 2.2??, 3??, 12?, fr. 3.1??, 7.

5198 overlaps several other copies of *Misoumenos*:

2656 (O10 Sandbach), fol. A4 and →, papyrus codex, badly damaged. 'If the text were in good condition the handwriting would not be difficult to read; as things are, a considerable portion of the reading is divinatory' (Turner, *New Fragments of the Misoumenos of Menander* (1965) 5–6).

132–44/532–44: P. Schub. 22 ii (P. Berol. 13932), parchment codex, difficult to read from damage and warping and also from bleed-through; transcriptions by W. Schubart (with contributions by K. Stahlschmidt) in Körte–Thierfelder, *Menandri quae supersunt* ii<sup>2</sup> 285–9 (S), by C. Austin in P. Oxy. XXXIII pp. 18–19 (A), and by

H. Machler in *Lustrum* 10 (1965) 154–5 (M). These transcriptions diverge at many points; the new papyrus shows that each has its special successes. We are grateful to Dr Fabian Reiter for a new scan, but many uncertainties remain. Following Sandbach, we refer to this as B<sub>3</sub>.

152–4/552–4: LXIV 4408, papyrus roll.

If we compare 5198 with 2656 as published, we find that (i) 5198 appears to omit 2656 A → line 10 (= 145/545); and (ii) since the next clear overlap is between 5198 fr. 1.30 and 2656 A → line 17 (= 152/552), 5198 also appears to have a line not present in 2656. This shows that the upper part of 2656 A needs adjustment: the small fragment on the right has been located one line too low, so that the elements of Turner's lines 145–8 that he prints beyond his broken line belong instead to his lines 144–7 (544–7 Arnott).

The overlaps confirm that we are dealing with a dialogue scene or scenes from the third act, whose elusive content has already attracted considerable interest among scholars. 5198, like 4408, shows that the published transcriptions of 2656 and B<sub>3</sub>, the basis of earlier discussions, are in no way reliable: inevitably, since both manuscripts have suffered severe damage.

5198 adds new details of the action in this scene or scenes. Very provisionally, it would be possible to identify three phases. (i) 132–6/532–6 Chrysis and X discuss contrasting lives (those of Thrasonides and Krateia?), concluding 'She knows her own business better'. (ii) 137/537 a character Y perhaps complains sotto voce about (his?) burden; Chrysis and X cannot immediately identify the source of the noise, and one tells the other to leave (141/541). Y greets the woman left on stage (*μακαρία*); the subject turns to garments with ornamental borders and to jewellery and drinking cups; we might guess that these were part of Thrasonides' spoils, perhaps intended as presents for Krateia. Clothes are still in mind in 149/549. (iii) 151/551 ff. 'pounding the ground' and an about-to-be libation suggest a party, and that would cohere with 'wild animals' (153/553), 'indoors' (154/554), *μετὰ τίνων πύ[ε];* (157/557 in 4408), and the details that follow of songs and a 'pig man'. Up until 155/555 Chrysis remains present; in that line she says *ἀπλω[μεν]*, *Σύρα*. (Do the pair actually leave the stage, or is it just an intention?) Certainly the next line (156/556) is spoken by a woman, since she swears by Artemis. Then follows a speech or speeches about singing and drinking, in the past tense and to some degree eye-witness (160–61/560–61); towards the end, at least, the speaker is a male (174/574) slave (172/572), who next intends to go indoors to witness what is being said and done (173–5/573–5). Perhaps the new speaker in 156/556 is Krateia; perhaps the male slave is the same character who had begun describing the party at about line 151/551.

Chrysis is identified by a *nota personae* at 116/516 or earlier (5198 fr. 2.8), 132/532 (5198 fr. 1.10), perhaps 147/547 (2656 '148' as reread by Gonis), and 155/555 (2656, 4408). It seems then that she was present on stage for at least forty

lines, down to her exit at 155/555 (if indeed she does leave at that point). The new evidence does not clarify her status (Krateia's nurse or not?), or the identity of her interlocutor(s) even in the relatively well-preserved lines 132 41/532–41: if there are two, X gets sent away in 141/541, Syra remains until 155/555. Some have identified X as Krateia, but there is no direct indication of her presence until the *nota personae* in 157/557 (4408), itself doubtfully read. 5198 does eliminate one apparent clue to the relationships, the reconstructed *ᾄ θῆ[γα]ρπίδιο[ν]* in 143/543.

At 142/542, it seems, a new character Y addresses Chrysis (*μακαρία*). The circumstances suggest a (male) slave: 137/537 (shoulder), 140/540 (muttering?), 144/544 ff. an apparent list of clothes and precious objects. It may be the same person who describes an apparent celebration in 151/551 ff.; and when the description continues in the next scene, the speaker is indeed a male slave (172/572). All this would suit Getas, and a *nota* beginning with Γ appears in 121/521 or earlier (5198 fr. 2.13), 124/524 (5198 fr. 1.2), and perhaps 157/557 (4408). Unfortunately none of these *notae* can be read unequivocally as Γετ or the like, see fr. 1.2 n.

Thus a great deal still remains unclear, about the plot and about the speakers. For a survey of the controversy, and earlier bibliography, see 4408 introd.

|    |         |                                  |  |
|----|---------|----------------------------------|--|
|    |         | ]α, [                            |  |
|    |         | ]χι[                             |  |
|    | 125/525 | ]αν[                             |  |
|    |         | ]λε, [...], [                    |  |
| 5  |         | ]θυ, υ, ς, [...]δ[               |  |
|    |         | ]ρ[...ουστου, [                  |  |
|    |         | ]...σφοδρ' αυτη[                 |  |
|    | 130/559 | ]...σεφαιφν[                     |  |
|    |         | ]...σειτοιςφι[                   |  |
| 10 |         | ]αιμομαχ[                        |  |
|    |         | ]...ειδεισινγαρ[                 |  |
|    |         | ]...φρουγαρ, μακ[...], ρι[       |  |
|    | 135/535 | ]...ωτονοςαγορτζι[               |  |
|    |         | ]...ιδεγαγεαυτης, [              |  |
| 15 |         | ]...τραχηλουτου, [               |  |
|    |         | ]...ν, [...]μη]τονυπο[           |  |
|    |         | ]...τιςποτεστιν'εστι[            |  |
|    | 140/540 | ]...ψυθιριμος'οιδε, ω[           |  |
|    |         | ]...[σ]...δε[ε]γωκα[...], αλη, [ |  |
| 20 |         | ]...μακαρια'φαιονδεχ[            |  |
|    |         | ]...σιταυθουανλεγη[              |  |
|    |         | ]...οκρ[...αρεπεθ, ενδαι[        |  |
|    | 145/545 | ]...κτυ, [ ]...ρως, [            |  |
|    |         | ]...ηη[ ]...εμ[                  |  |
| 25 |         | ]...ειθε[ ]...β, υλε, [          |  |
|    |         | ]...πρωτο[ ]...ις[...ενε, [      |  |
|    |         | ]...εταν[ ]...νια, [             |  |
|    | 150/550 | ]...α[...α, [ ]...ταλι, [        |  |
|    |         | ]...αν', [ ]...εραντ, [          |  |
| 30 |         | ]...επω, [ ]...εραν[             |  |
|    |         | ]...ρι, [ ]...ων[                |  |
|    |         | ]...λαν, [ ]...νθ[               |  |

## 2656 + 5198 fr. 1 + B3 + 4408

Contributions of 5198 in bold (underlined where its text overlaps another source).

|    |         |  |  |
|----|---------|--|--|
|    |         | .].ρ[...λα[...].]. [α, [ ] [ ] [   |  |
|    |         | ...].].τ[ ]: (F. D χη[ ]... [  |  |
|    | 125/525 | ]αρ[ ]]φξεν[   |  |
|    |         | ]...αν[...]. αν, [ ]...λε, [...]. [ ]...εωμ[   |  |
| 5  |         | .].].].].]. ρεσθ[ ]θυ, υ, ς, [...]δ[ ]... [  |  |
|    |         | ...].].].].]. πεπειξ[...]. λρ[ ]ουστου, [  |  |
|    |         | .]. [ ± 8 ], ωμος <b>σφόδρ'</b> αυτη[  |  |
|    | 130/530 | τ[ ]...].].].]. νπερι, [ ]...ε <b>ξείφνη</b> [...<br>ε[ ]...].].]. γη[ ]...]. <b>κει τοις φι[</b>  |  |
| 10 |         | <i>ικετηριαν' τι λέγορας; (XP.) εμοι μαχει, τάλαν; :</i><br><i>μ]ὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἔκει[... ] φησί· δεινὸν γὰρ βίον</i><br><i>ξῆ κ[α]! ταλαίπωρόν τω', οὐ γὰρ; μακάριον</i><br><i>αὐτῆ . . . καὶ ἑηλωτόν ὅσα γ' οὐτῶς ἰδέειν</i><br><i>. . . ] η, ἄμ[ει]νον οἶδε τὰ γ' αὐτῆς . . . ω</i><br><i>τοῦτ' ε[.]. [ ]... ε, . . . τὸν τράχηλον ταυτοῖ</i><br><i>. . . εμ' α[. . . ]... ε, . . . ἐν αὐτὸν ὑπακαθήμενο(ν)</i><br><i>τ[ ] τοῦτο; τ[α] ἴτο τίς ποτ' ἔστιν; ἔστι γὰρ</i><br><i>παρὰ τανος οὗτος ὁ ψυθιριμός, οἶδ' ἐγώ.</i> |  |
|    | 135/535 | ]...ε[ ]...α, [ ]...ε, [ ]...φαιόν δ' ἔχει   |  |
| 20 |         | ...].].].].]. τριδιό: δηλονότι ταῦθ' <b>δταν λέγγ</b><br>...].].].].]. με[ ]...].].].].]. <b>κράπεδ'</b> , ἐν δ' αὐτῷ μὸ[<br>± 12 <b>δα]κτύλιον [... χ]ρυσ[ ]</b>  |  |
|    | 145/545 | .].].δ[.].]ξορ[...].]παρ[...].]εμ[   |  |
| 25 |         | <b>φίλων</b> τε [...].]θειθε[...].]βουλετ[   |  |
|    |         | <b>δ</b> τοιοῦτο[...].]πρωτο[...].]ικ[...].]νε, [  |  |
|    |         | <b>θαίματ[ ]</b> α . . . ]...θε ταῦτ[α (<) λαβρ[ ]φόνια·   |  |
|    | 150/530 | <b>ἐπειτα</b> προσ[ ]...την, <b>αρον[ ]</b> , [...].]ταλι, [   |  |
|    |         | <b>τὴν γῆν κροτοῦσαν</b> κ[.]. [ ]...].]εραντ, [   |  |
| 30 |         | ς]...πείσινθ' . [ ]...].]...].]...].]εραντ[.].]. τ[  |  |
|    |         | .].]ε[.].].]αυτα θηρίων παρεισῶ . . . <b>ων</b><br><b>εἴλω</b> τις ἡμάς <b>λαθάνει</b> , νὸν δ' οὐκέτι<br><b>ἀν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσιν</b> (XPY.) ἀπίωμεν, Κύρα.  |  |
|    | 155/535 |  |  |



Fr. 1

1. [, upright, papyrus missing at letter-top level 2 [Γ], or possibly π[  $\delta$  ], the lower part of an ascending oblique; above, the left-hand part of a cross-bar, beginning rather further to the right 4. [, spot at mid-height ], on a narrow strip, perhaps e.g. the end of the tail of  $\Lambda$  with a trace belonging to another letter above its right-hand side 5. (first), in damaged context at the join of two fragments, perhaps e.g. the upper left-hand arc of a circle (second), a dot at mid-height 6. [, perhaps left-hand end of cross-bar of  $\tau$  7. ], high in the line, e.g. the tip of the cap of  $\epsilon$  8. ], damaged and dislocated traces, perhaps the upper left-hand arc of a circle followed by the right-hand arc of a circle joined from the left near the foot [, the foot of an upright 9. ], upright hooked to right at top and perhaps joined from left at mid-line level: anomalous,  $\mu$  possible 11. ], lower part of upright 5, the upper right-hand corner and part of the left-hand side  $\mu\sigma$ , the first  $\mu$  apparently made out of  $\mu$  by the addition of a clear-cut descending diagonal Of  $\rho$  the tail 12. ], short horizontal trace at  $\frac{1}{2}$  height, probably end of horizontal joining upright for  $\tau$  as in 17]  $\rho$ . After  $\beta$ , separated by a crack, short low vertical trace and tall high vertical trace, perhaps a dicolon 13  $\rho\tau\omega$ , of  $\gamma$  the tips of both arms and rubbed traces of the vertical; of  $\tau$  the left and right parts of the horizontal and the foot; then traces suggesting the left-hand half of  $\omega$  14. ], right-hand arc of circle? [, foot of upright 15. [, point on edge near top level 16. ], lower part of upright  $\mu$ , oblique and second upright ., lower end of ascending oblique, then, after a gap, tip of a tail on the line,  $\lambda$  possible; foot of upright followed after gap by upright,  $\mu$  suitable [  $\mu\sigma$  ], cancelled by a long bar on the line and another just above,  $\mu$  followed by traces suiting  $\mu$  (both uprights and, on partly abraded surface, ink at mid-level in between) 18  $\epsilon$ , inclined vertical joined at the top by the end of a horizontal bar, most likely  $\tau$  19 [  $\sigma$  ] cancelled by a bar on the line, with specks before perhaps belonging to the same letter; above the line, in the main hand,  $\epsilon$  with a trace before, perhaps the right-hand side of  $\epsilon$   $\kappa$  has a much thickened rising oblique (trace of a deletion stroke?); above, a descending oblique, curving somewhat to the left, compatible with the descending oblique of  $\lambda$ : possibly  $\kappa$  corrected to  $\delta$  [, ], probably  $\tau$ , with  $\mu$  superscript by the main hand [, left-hand side of  $\mu$  or  $\mu$  21. ], upright slightly inclined to the right, probably second leg of  $\nu$  22 ],  $\sigma$ ,  $\tau$  or damaged  $\tau$  Above ],  $\sigma$  damaged traces of two superscript letters  $\delta$  [ $\rho$ ], of  $\rho$ , top and (below the line) lower part of vertical; of  $\lambda$ , rising oblique joining descending oblique (the projecting tip of the descending oblique rules out  $\lambda$ ); the crest of a round open letter, most probably  $\epsilon$  (not the tip of the right arm of  $\gamma$ , otherwise always open and not curved)  $\delta$ , after  $\delta$  high traces, perhaps apostrophe as in 7 followed by two or three parallel obliques as at the end of 27 23  $\nu$ , [, rising oblique, possibly  $\lambda$   $\epsilon$ , [, apparently top of an upright (?), then a speck at letter-top level 24. ], flat trace on the line, e.g. tail of  $\lambda$  25  $\beta$ , trace at mid-level compatible with lower part of a round letter, possibly  $\sigma$   $\epsilon$  [, horizontal at mid-height joined from below towards its right-hand end by upright, possibly 26  $\sigma$  [, left-hand open arc high in the line [, trace below the line, perhaps an ascending oblique 27 ],  $\nu$ ,  $\epsilon$  before  $\nu$ , right-hand arc high in the line, almost certainly  $\omega$ ; after  $\alpha$ , in the upper part of the line three oblique strokes, close together, rising towards the right 28  $\epsilon\sigma$  [, upright joining horizontal bar at top and joined by a tail on the line,  $\tau$  rather than  $\pi$   $\tau$ , lower part of descending oblique, both  $\lambda$  and  $\Lambda$  possible [, upright joining horizontal bar:  $\pi$  or  $\tau$  29  $\nu'$  [, after high dot possibly  $\kappa$   $\tau$  [, remains of small circlet high in line? or rather right-hand side of loop of  $\lambda$ ? 30  $\omega$  [, upright? ]  $\delta$ , cross-bar joining  $\epsilon$  below letter-top level 31 ],  $\rho$ , upright joined from the left near the top 32 [, surplus ink on  $\lambda$  at mid-level, perhaps a cancellation stroke; another thick stroke ascending gently to the right begins just to the right of its apex and continues onto confused and rubbed traces to the right, perhaps another cancelled letter; above, perhaps the left-hand side of  $\omega$  33 [,  $\omega$  joined from the left near the top by a cross-stroke; after  $\nu$  blank space 32  $\nu$  [, dot at line level ],  $\nu$ , tip of rising oblique, perhaps flattened right arm of  $\gamma$

Fr. 2

]  $\epsilon\rho\theta$ [  
],  $\eta$ ,  $\epsilon$ , [  
]  $\mu$   $\tau$   $\eta$  [,  
]  $\kappa$   $\alpha$   $\tau$   $\eta$  [  
5 ]  $\alpha$   $\nu$  [  
],  $\lambda$   $\nu$  [,  
],  $\rho$   $\rho$   $\nu$  [  
]  $\alpha$   $\nu$   $\chi$  [  
]  $\epsilon$   $\omega$   $\omega$   $\delta$   $\delta$  [  
10 ]  $\kappa$   $\alpha$   $\kappa$   $\nu$  [  
]  $\nu$   $\tau$   $\omega$   $\epsilon$  [  
]  $\alpha$   $\tau$   $\nu$  [  
],  $\tau$   $\tau$   $\epsilon$   $\nu$  [  
]  $\eta$   $\alpha$   $\epsilon$   $\tau$  [  
15 ] . . . .  $\epsilon$  [  
], [  
].

Fr. 2

2 ]  $\eta$ , right-hand arc at mid-level,  $\rho$  or  $\phi$   $\eta$ , substantial ink above left side of  $\epsilon$ , more than expected for a high stop: remains of superscript letter?  $\epsilon$  [, rubbed traces of upright 3 ], short horizontal at mid height surrounded by what looks like left-hand arc of a circle 6 ], foot of descending oblique,  $\lambda$  or  $\lambda$  [, low speck 7 ], dot at bottom level 8 ], lower right-hand arc 12 ]  $\beta$ , the joining diagonals are quite thick; perhaps correction *curvata calamus?* 13  $\delta$   $\chi$ , see comm.

Fr. 3

1 Above  $\beta$ , seemingly the lower arc of a circle, apparently interlinear rather than belonging to the line above 6 ., first, upright; second, upright with further low ink to its right 7 ], upright slanting to the right [, ], first,  $\tau$  or  $\pi$ ; second, cap and cross-bar of  $\epsilon$ ?

Fr. 1

2 (124/524) The superscript (character-name) raises a general problem. Four passages are relevant. (a) Here we read  $\gamma$ ], the second letter apparently  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  (b) Fr. 2. 13 has  $\gamma$ , where the second letter is doubtful (but too much ink for  $\delta$ ) and the third may be a raised  $\nu$  or a high bar above other ink. (c) 157/557 in 4408 has  $\tau$ , where the second letter looks like  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  ( $\mu\sigma\alpha\epsilon$  ed.), but the first two letters are very uncertain. (d) 184/584 in 2656 'intellinæ nota begins with oblique upright ( $\gamma$  or  $\nu$ ), after an interval  $\alpha$ , and possibly top of  $\nu$  Turner, who suggests  $\gamma$  [ $\rho$ ]  $\alpha$  ( $\epsilon$ ). There is a chance that these all represent the same name; none of them can be clearly read as  $\Gamma$  ( $\epsilon$   $\alpha$ ), who would otherwise seem a good prospect. (a), (b), and (c) might converge on  $\mu$   $\lambda$   $\epsilon$ , i.e.  $\Gamma$   $\lambda$  ( $\epsilon$   $\rho$ ); for this name in Menander see Fr. with Gomme-Sandbach p. 466 and fr. \*96 KA.

Fr. 3

]  $\epsilon$   $\epsilon$   $\tau$  [  
]  $\tau$   $\nu$   $\nu$  [  
]  $\kappa$   $\epsilon$   $\nu$  [  
]  $\eta$   $\epsilon$   $\rho$   $\alpha$   $\nu$  [  
5 ]  $\nu$   $\epsilon$   $\epsilon$   $\tau$   $\tau$   $\epsilon$  [  
]  $\epsilon$   $\tau$  . . . [  
]  $\sigma$  . . . . [  
]  $\epsilon$  . . . [  
] [  
].



left for τ; and the o read in B3 stands too close to *καυσι* for τν to intervene. We have tried ρεθί, although the infinitive would be superfluous (cf. P. 740). The minimal traces in B3 do not favour ε111. In fact, the final trace in B3 might be better taken as ω (after S) rather than o or u, followed by ink coming through from the other side where S and A read c; that would suggest ἐγώ, beginning a new sentence at the end of the trimeter, cf. *Aph.* 198, S and c. 210.

15 (137/537) [τρᾶχλον] 5198.

Beginning, 2656 οὐρ'ε[. . .] [L'last letter possibly κ if low in line'. No paragraphus visible.

B3 ]ε. . . τν. . . γ. . . τουτοι S ]εμοστν. . . αυ. . . τουτοι A ]εαυ. ταμ. . . τουτοι M.

5198 and B3 together give the line-end τρέχλον τουτοι, perhaps τρε τρέχλον τουτοι. In combination: τουτ' ε[. . .] [ε. . . τρε τρέχλον τουτοι. Here too the combined text seems to require more space than would have been available in the left-hand part of 5198: did the scribe omit something, as apparently in 12?

τρέχλον: 'neck' might refer to (i) the 'old' joke of *Ar. Ran.* 19–20 ὦ τρικακοδαίμων ἄρ' ὀ τράχλος οὐτος, / ὄτι θάβεται μὲν, δὲ γέλοιον οὐρετ' (cf. also *Eq.* 490)? (ii) hard labour, cf. *Men. Dyt.* 524, *Antiph.* 277 KA; (iii) death by hanging?

If (i) provides the clue, perhaps Getas appears, with a bundle of clothes (στ) on a stick over his shoulder. He comes out of Thrasonides' house (where he has been observing a symposium, 27 ff. n.). Those on stage can at first hear him but not see him, and what they hear they describe as φθέραιμους (17–18): perhaps he is grumbling under his breath, perhaps he is so submerged in clothes (16 ὀσκαθήμενος) that his words are muffled, perhaps he speaks over his shoulder to someone in the house, like the grumbling Daos at *Dyt.* 206–11.

16 (138/538) ]ε. . . [μ]ῆ]τοπος 5198.

Beginning, 2656 . . . ]εμ'α[. Any paragraphus would be lost in the initial damage.

End, B3 ]εχέου. [ . . . . ] , γαθραμειν S (stare, ]ε. . . εἰνα[ ἰστολχημίδι, ]ε. . . εἰνα [ . . . . ] τρεκαθμεσ A, ]εθρα. [ . . . ] μαιεμοσ M.

In combination, if of the basic reading of B3 is right, . . . ]εμ'α[ . . . ]ε, εἰν ἄρ τὸν ὀσκαθήμενος. Thus the line seems to have ended with the first part of a conditional clause: ἀν μὴ 5198 before correction, 4/5 B3 (to judge from the new image, the lacuna in B3 can only have accommodated etc. and not also the superfluous μῆ). The beginning cannot be restored with confidence, but . . . ]εμ' seems likely to include μέθε, μέθε, or ἐμέθε.

ὀσκαθήμενος: 'sitting underneath' (the baggage which rests on his neck)? 'lurking', of the person who can be heard but not yet identified? But the second interpretation would anticipate a theme that is made explicit only in the next line.

17 (139/539) ]τριστοσεν'εστ' 5198.

Beginning, 2656 . . . ]ουστ. [ . . . [ . . . Turner notes 'At beginning a blot spreading into line below;

above it smaller letters, could be read as στ, ]R, A. C]oles). P a correction.' No paragraphus identifiable.

End, B3 ] , στίσποσ'εστ'έστιαρ S, ] στίσποσ'εστωέστιαρ A, ] στικποσεν: έστιαρ M.

5198 would fit Turner's τ] ἰστοσεν τίς ποσ' έστίν; έστι γὰρ. B3 as read indicates change of speaker before έστι γὰρ; there is certainly punctuation, but the new scan does not decide between dicolon and high stop. In 5198 only a single high stop can be seen.

18 (140/540) ]φθέραιμους 5198.

Beginning, 2656 ε. . . παυμοστρε[. No paragraphus identifiable.

B3 ]ουστρεφθέραιμουςεἰδ'εγω S, ]ουστρεφθέραιμουςεἰδ'εγω A, ]ουστρεφθέραιμουςεἰδ'εγώ M.

In combination παρά τὸν οὐτος ὀ φθέραιμους, οἰδ' ἐγώ (5198 confirming the comma).

19 (141/541) ]]ε[ εἰδ'ε[ ]ρωσ' ε[ ]ν' ]ωλ 5198, above v perhaps a.

Beginning, 2656 read as ἀπάλλογθ'ε[. Turner notes 'not certainly a diastole after θ; might be a nota personae in mid-line, possibly A. C] or A. Γ] ].' and in fact this note must apply to the rough

breathing as well as the diastole. Arnott accepts the apostrophe and takes only what follows to belong to the nota personae ('less probably a badly-written rough breathing'). No clear sign of paragraphus.

End, B3 ] θεν. . . . εσφει. . . ]οσ. θημ[. . . ]ου S, ]θθεν. . . . εσφει. . . . εχμ[. . . ]ου A, ]θθεν [ . . . ]ετ[. . . ]οσ. θημ[. . . ]ου M.

If Turner's breathing can be dispensed with, then ἀπάλλογθ' εἰθεῖδ'. ἐγώ δ' ἀπάλλογθ]ου. (εἰθεῖδ' already guessed by Kraus). This makes it clear that ἀπάλλογθ' represents the singular ἀπάλλογθι. For the false spelling -λημθ- cf. 281/682 (in 2656) ἠλημθων; LXXI 4094 (vi) has ἠλημθ]ουμ[αι at *Ar.* 185. The added μ (by analogy with the present) does not appear in Attic inscriptions until the Roman period (Threatte ii 525), but forms a regular feature in literary and non-literary koine from 110 onwards (Mayer-Scholl 167; Gignac ii 266).

5198 appears to have had ἀπάλλογθ' εἰθ]θον δ' ἐγώ κεταλ]ημθ]ουμ[αι before correction. Presumably the corrected reading should be accepted (the sequence θεθεν would be easily corrupted), but 2656 (missing) and B3 (illegible) cannot bear direct witness. In 2656 the extra high traces after the apostrophe might represent a supracritic variant (εθον or εθθεν), which one of the two was not written in the main text. B3, to judge from the new image, need not have had more than εσφωδ' ἀπάλλογθουμ[αι, although the published transcriptions imply that more space is available.

In this reconstruction, the speaker tells another character 'Get yourself away from here', then 'and I (emphatic) will take it up'. Elsewhere in Menander ἀπάλλογθις occurs, with reflexive pronoun in the accusative, in the sense 'recollect/contemplate oneself' (*Geop.* 64, *Sm.* 588). Here, if we accept change of speaker at the line-end (but the dicolon in B3 is by no means certainly read), we have no room for an accusative. Since the cue is the 'somebody' whose 'whispering' they can hear, perhaps the verb here means 'I will pick up', 'I will receive' the somebody who is about to appear.

20–27. In these lines we hear of fringes (22), of a ring and perhaps gold ornaments (23), and of garments and cups (27). What role do these play? (i) A ring and trinkets might be recognition-tokens. But nothing elsewhere suggests that the plot of this play involved a founding; and the other items seem less suitable. (ii) They might be presents from Thrasonides to Kratela: *A39–40/39–40 θεραμ[α]υ, χρυσία, / [μάτια δ]ός[ε],* and *Men.* fr. 26 KA (ἀεθρίωνα etc.). In practice, (ii) and (iii) will have overlapped, and Getas had travelled as escort of the booty from the last campaign, see *A34–3/34–5*: we agree with Arnott in assigning these words to Getas. We do not know whether this treasure has itself arrived, and whether it includes items relevant to the plot, e.g. if Kratela will recognise them as her brother's.

20 (142/542) ]μακαρια φαιονδεχ[ 5198.

Beginning, 2656 εφ[ ]μερε. [ ] αλ, written above εφ[ δ above ]. No clear sign of paragraphus.

B3 ] . . . μαν. . . . φαιονδ'εχει S (αεμαν and εφον Stahlchmidt), ]φρεμοδ. . . . φαιονδ'εχει A, ]ε. . . . φαιονδ'εχει M.

With the guidance of 5198, we might now read B3 (badly warped) as ] . . . μακαρια, where μακ corresponds to S's μαν and A's μου; the initial traces are still obscure, μακαρια is presumably vocative: the new arrival greets the character already on stage, who in this is shown to be female, μακαρια may serve simply as a friendly address, more rarely on some special piece of good fortune (E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (1996) 140, 278–9); in Menander more generally *Dyt.* 103 (slave to parasite), and compare *Com. Aesp.* 107.64 KA (corresponding to θ] δ' τὰν), and specifically 'lucky' *Dyt.* 701 (Socratēs of Kneemon), *Eq.* 873 (Habrotonon to Parnphile), and *Men.* *A38–9/38–9*, where Getas underlines the joke. Here too there may be grounds for congratulation, if the new arrival is bringing good things.

Thus the verse began ←→→, μακαρια. Spacing suggests that the remains in 2656 (perhaps four syllables) would overlap the text in B3, if at all, by no more than a letter or so.

5198 shows that φαιον is the correct reading of B3 (confirmed by the new scan), and a word





reconciled with the (minimal) traces of the first surviving line. 5199 now provides the beginnings of 365/766 and the next six verses, and these too seem not to agree with any of the legible line-beginnings in Turner's fragment A(b). Specifically, 5199 20 cannot be reconciled with any of the line-beginnings 368-79/769-81. It might in theory be reconcilable with 367/768, since only the slightest traces of that line remain. But if that is so, then a minimum of 5 verses is lost between the foot of D4 and the first surviving line of D → i. Thus D → i must have contained at least 43 lines, while the other pages of the codex contain c.35-40 lines; and its written height would extend to c.28 cm, compared with c.24.5 cm in leaf B (the best preserved). These anomalies suggest that the placing of fr. A of sheet D is in serious doubt: it may indeed be 'the only surviving portion of another leaf now completely lost' (Turner, *New Fragments* 7).

The text was identified, as part of the exercise 'Ancient Lives', by D. Danbeck.

In the partial reconstruction printed below, the contribution of 5199 is given in bold, and underlined where it overlaps another source.

|    |                               |  |
|----|-------------------------------|--|
|    | .].                           |  |
|    | .].                           |  |
|    | rubbed                        |  |
|    | rubbed                        |  |
|    | 352/756                       |  |
| 5  | stripped                      |  |
|    | ... ]λυοθη...]                | ... ] <b>ἀλύοθη</b> φ[δε] πολλὰ πρ[ά]γματα,  |
|    | ... ]ζμερ.μη[                 | εἰ δ' εἰς μέσον μ. .... φερ. ...]            |
|    | ... ]οικτ.τ.ψ[                | <b>ἐτέρως τι τούτ. αυ. .... ελ.</b>          |
|    | ... ]...].]                   | 360/761                                      |
|    | ... ]...].]                   |  |
| 10 | .].                           |  |
|    | ]τροπον. θεξ. ...]            | <b>τρόπον καθέξω</b> τῷτο καὶ ... φέρω.      |
|    | ]παμφερεσφατοκρ[              | <b>ἀπαμφερί γάρ τὸ κατάλακτον τούτο μου</b>  |
|    | ]καλανθανειβουλο[             | <b>καὶ λανθάνει βουλλόμενον ἢ μέθῃ ποτῆ,</b> |
|    | 365/766                       |  |
| 15 | ]αχψ. σνψ. δ. ....]           | <b>ἀσχημονέω δ. ....]</b>                    |
|    | ... ]... θαρ. [...].]         |  |
|    | ... ]...].ψ[...].] εξφτ. ...] |  |
|    | ]αλλεμφ. νδ. ...]             | <b>ἀλλ' ἐμφανίξ. ...]</b>                    |
|    | ... ]... α. ...].]            |  |
| 20 | ... ]ντο. ... ]. α. ...]      |  |
|    | foot                          |  |

1 ], single point of ink on stripped surface 2 ], top arc of oval, surface abraded below (e, o) 6 ], rather than α, λ ...], lower left-hand arc of circle, then ink sutting the right-hand base of ω, perhaps parts of a single 7 ], lower arc and upper left-hand corner of circle ε, ι of the left-hand arc, then curving trace level with letter-tops, other specks of ink lower down, probably o 8 τ, ink just above letter-tops, leaning upwards from left to right (spacing suggests top of ι) τ, upper half of oval (e, o) ], on the edge, upright with serifed foot 9-11 rubbed; dots represent mere specks, except when noted 9 ], ...], second, horizontal trace 12 ], traces from the upper left-hand corner and the top of the loop ν, θεξ. ...] c.22 mm to the right of ν, trace of a descending oblique at mid-line level; then, again at mid-line level, trace of a rising oblique joining a horizontal; of e the lower arc and cross-bar; of e the cross-bar and part of the lower arc; of x remains from central cross-bar, lower oblique and base; then extended low horizontal (base of ω?) ; then serif on the lower line, lower left-hand arc followed by two points ranged vertically in lower half of line (τ? acceptable) 13 ], serifed foot εφ[ of ε the upright and the junction of the obliques; of α the join of the diagonals high in the line 14 ο[ , upper left-hand arc of a circle 15 η, abraded traces, rightmost curving tail at line-level, joining o (μ suitable) ε, traces sutting the left-hand cup of ω, abraded to the right δ ...], abraded traces; upright with serifed foot; low trace closely followed by low trace with high trace above (head and foot of upright?); low trace apparently joined from left by descending oblique, with ink above (e.g. second upright of η); then low trace with ink above; spot on line, ink above; high trace, perhaps sloping up from left to right 16 ], ...], first an upright with remains of cross-bar to left and right at letter-top level (τ?), then a trace low in the line, followed by the upper and lower parts of a round letter (e, o, c rather than e), perhaps joined at line-level by stroke from left ρ ...], rubbed and confused traces ], ...], tops and feet of letters; first apparently has extended horizontal level with letter-tops 17 ], ...], trace on line; lower left-hand arc of circle, then trace just above the line ], ν, low trace; of ν the top left junction and top and foot of right-hand upright; touching this upright at the top, beginning of horizontal (ε, g) ], ε, rubbed horizontal traces at top and bottom level, then e rather than e 18 θ, trace on line, then traces of diagonal sloping down to right ], ...], left and right sides as of broad oval; point level with letter-tops 19 ], ...], badly rubbed; first what seems to be an upright joining a horizontal bar, then a dot high in the line followed by the upper part of a rising oblique (to form κ?), then an oblique stroke high in the line followed by an upright; then again traces at line and top level of what looks like a slightly curved upright; then more abraded traces α ...], ], abraded; top of upright, tip of oblique rising from left to right, further ink at mid-line (together perhaps κ); top of circle, then low dot, then another low dot, then thin low horizontal; high trace 20 ν, ...], lower arc of a round letter, then a seemingly horizontal stroke in mid line; high ink ], ...], abraded ε, ], of α parts of the apex and right-hand oblique; then scattered traces (abraded)

6 (357/758) ...]λυοθη...], after θ perhaps simply φ[. Turner read 2656 as ...]. α. ...]θ'. [...]. φλ. σκ. [...]. μαν[; before the first a he saw ]επλ or χηλ, then 'a descender half-way between α and ν'; after θ' a vertical which may belong to interlinear'; after [...], 'πολλά πρ[ά]γματα would suit' (the final α represents an apparent trace omitted from his transcript; in any case the papyrus breaks off, so that we cannot be sure whether the line ended here or not). We could combine the two as ...]. αλυοθη φ[ ...] πολλά πρ[ά]γματα (the high vertical that Turner saw after θ' will then belong to a rough breathing). The first α looks plausible, which would exclude e.g. φηλλόθηθ': it would allow κ- ἀλύοθη φ[δε] πολλά πρ[ά]γματα, where ἀλύοθη 'desponding' would fit well with μεμκροφ[ύ]χου (2656) in the line before: so perhaps (356/757) ...]. με μικροφ[ύ]χου επ[ε]ρ[ε]σι[ς] τ[ε]ς, τυχόν, / [δ]ωρὴν ἀλύοθη φ[δε] πολλά πρ[ά]γματα, where [δ]ωρὴν is not excluded by the space in 5199 or the traces in 2656. There remains a problem with the syntax. ἀλύοθη is normally intransitive, and it normally applies to persons, so that the participle should not agree with πρ[ά]γματα. For the transitive use, LSJ + Rev. Suppl. s.v. Π

find only two late examples, Opp. *Hal.* 4.195  $\alpha\lambda\omega\delta\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\upsilon\ \epsilon\chi\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\iota$  and Heliod. 10.30.4  $\eta\tau\tau\alpha\ \delta\lambda\omega\delta\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$  (doubted by Rattenbury and loc.).

7 (358/759) . . . ]  $\delta\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\upsilon\ \eta\tau\tau\alpha\ ]$  possible. 2656 has at the start  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  followed by a vertical. Together:  $\epsilon\iota\ \delta' \epsilon\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\ ]$  (metres already Turner).

8 (359/760) . . . ]  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \eta\tau\tau\alpha\ ]$  perhaps . . . ]  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \eta\tau\tau\alpha\ ]$ . 2656 was read as  $\epsilon\ \epsilon\ \rho\ . . . \eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ . . . \epsilon\lambda\ ]$ ; at the beginning  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  is conceivable. We can now reconstruct  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  in both; and then  $\tau\eta\ \eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ . 12 (363/764) ]  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ . . . \theta\epsilon\ ]$ . 2656 was read as  $\tau\eta\sigma\omega\ ]$ . ]  $\theta\epsilon\ ]$ . . . ]  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ . . . \epsilon\sigma\omega\ . . .$  and Turner conjectured  $\tau\eta\sigma\omega\ ]$  [  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ ]$   $\tau\eta\sigma\omega$ . This is now confirmed by 5199, where the traces allow  $\tau\eta\sigma\omega\ \eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\eta\sigma\omega$ .

15-14 (364-5/765-6) These two lines are quoted to illustrate  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\iota$  meaning  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota$  by *Synagoge* cod. B a 1600 Cunningham = *Suda* s 2891 = Phot. a 2245; cf. Hsch. a 5768  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota$ .

13 (364/765)  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\iota$  2656,  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\iota\ \delta\eta\sigma\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ . The grammarians explicitly attest the Attic (contracted) future of  $-\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota$  here. For the form cf. *Att. Ep.* 891  $\pi\omicron\sigma\alpha\mu\phi\iota\omega\ ]$ ; H. W. Haury, *Kontraktives und sigmatiches Futur* (1975) 56. For such contracted futures in Menander cf. *ἀπόλλω* (e.g. *Dysc.* 412),  $\kappa\eta\ ]$   $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\ ]$  *Dysc.* 249,  $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\ ]$   $\epsilon\delta\delta\iota\ ]$  *Ep.* 132,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\ ]$  fr. 346 KA and *Theoph.* fr. 3.1 A. The uncontracted  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\omega$  appears at *Od.* 5.167, and  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\mu\phi\iota\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota$  as a variant of  $-\acute{\mu}\iota\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota$  in Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 3.61 (V 167.8-9 Cohn). In general, such 'Attic' futures maintain a sporadic presence in the Roman period, whether by tradition or through atticist zeal (L. Radermacher, *Neuzeitliche Grammatik* (1925) 92-3; Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf §74), but they are on the decline: here a copyist seems to have replaced the less familiar form with the more familiar, either deliberately or unconsciously.

We record our warmest thanks to Ben Cartledge and Albio Cesare Cassio for advice on Attic futures in Menander.

15 ]  $\chi\alpha\chi\eta\ \sigma\eta\sigma\epsilon\ \delta\ . . . ]$ : possibly  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\kappa\eta\mu\omicron\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon\ ]$  (cf. fr. 744.2 KA  $\acute{\alpha}\chi\kappa\eta\mu\omicron\tau\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\ ]$ ); then  $\delta' \eta\tau\tau\epsilon\ ]$   $\delta\acute{\nu}$ ? From here to the end of the fragment, there is no recognizable overlap with any line of 2656 down to 379/781: see intro.

17 ] . . . ]  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ ]$ :  $\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\ ]$  may represent another first person singular future verb.

18  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \acute{\epsilon}\mu\phi\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma\ ]$ :  $-\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ ]$  [rather than  $-\omega\ ]$ .  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\phi\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma\ ]$  is glossed  $\phi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\ ]$  by Hsch. c 2540 (cf. also Phot. e 783, *Suda* s 1068); for uses of the verb in Menander, see *Sam.* 355 and *Dysc.* 323.

W. B. HENRY / P. J. PARSONS / L. PRAUSCELLO

### 5200. MENANDER, PERIKEIROMENE 540-41 SANDBACH +

106/176(b)

12.2 x 5.1 cm

Fifth century  
Plate VIII

A fragment from the top centre of a codex bifolium. The folded sheet had vertical fibres on its outside. It may have been the central sheet of a quaternio arranged as in the Cairo Menander codex (Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 68), though there are other possibilities. If the identification tentatively advanced below is correct, fol. A→ will have held 29 lines. The upper margin was at least 4.2 cm deep, and the inner margin, measured from the central fold to the beginning of fol. B→.1, was 2 cm wide. The line-height, measured from the top of one line to the top of the next, was about 0.6 cm, and 29 lines will have occupied an area about 17.4 cm high. A trimeter will have been about 15-16 cm long. If the lower margin

### 5200. MENANDER, PERIKEIROMENE 540-41 SANDBACH + 115

was about half as deep again as the upper, the page dimensions may have been approximately 20 x 28 cm, suggesting that the codex belongs among the aberrants of Turner's Group 4 (*Typology* 16), but this is far from certain.

The text is copied in a 'sloping majuscule' hand comparable with those of *GBEPP* 15b (PSI II 126) and 16a (XI 1371). Elision is marked with an apostrophe in fol. B→.1 (540) and fol. B↓.1. There are no other lection signs. A supralinear bar represents  $\nu$  at line-end (fol. B↓.1).

The papyrus confirms an emendation in line 540, and gives on fol. B↓ a little new text (one decipherable line-end) from the long lacuna that follows 550 in the Cairo codex.

|         |   |  |
|---------|---|--|
| Fol. A↓ |   | Fol. A→                                  |
| . . . ] |   | ], $\epsilon\ . . . ]$                   |
| Fol. B→ | <p>προς εμᾶντες εἰς δ' ] 540</p> <p>εἴρηται κατακειμένη</p> | Fol. B↓                                  |
|         |   | ], γ' ἡμῶν κακῶν                         |
|         |   | ], [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] |

Fol. A↓  
... ]: letter-tops on the edge.

Fol. A→  
],  $\epsilon\ . . . ]$ : Before  $\epsilon$ , a speck at letter-top level; after it, apparently a cross-stroke at letter-top level joined by an upright on the left, e.g.  $\tau$ ; perhaps the top of an upright, with surface damaged above and missing to the right, then the top of another upright. ]  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ ]$ , the final word of 511, seems compatible with the traces.  $\delta\iota\alpha\ ]$   $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\ ]$ , the final word of 509, does not seem suitable: the final trace appears to be the top of an upright rather than of an oblique descending from left to right.

Fol. B→  
1 (540) *προς εμᾶντες εἰς δ'* [The Cairo codex has the hypermetric *προς εμᾶντες ἀλλ' εἰς οἰκὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐκποδοῦν*]. Lefebvre (followed now by Armott and Blanchard) restored the metre by deleting  $\tau\omega\ ]$ , while E. Schwartz, *Hermes* 64 (1928) 10 n. 2, supposed instead that  $\delta'$  had dropped out after  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  and that  $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$  had been inserted in its place. The new papyrus appears to confirm Schwartz's conjecture. Sandbach, while accepting Schwartz's deletion of  $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ , declined to insert  $\delta'$ , and it is possible that the particle was added to avoid asyndeton, like C's  $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ . But  $\delta'$  usefully clarifies the structure, as Moschion turns from what he did not do to what he did.

Fol. B↓  
1 ]  $\gamma' \eta\mu\omega\ \kappa\alpha\kappa\omega\ ]$ . If the identification proposed above for fol. A→ is correct, this will be about the twenty-ninth line after 540. The speaker may still be Moschion, talking about his 'troubles'.  
] . ]: a trace at letter-top level.  
2 ] [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ]: traces of letter-tops.

W. B. HENRY

## III. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

## 5201. COMMENTARY ON PINDAR, OLYMPIAN I

31 4B.9/N(g)a

10.7 x 15.2 cm

First century BC / first century AD  
Plate VII

A fragment of a papyrus roll with text running along the fibres, apparently cut down to the present size and shape for a letter to be written on the back, upside down in relation to the text on the front. Parts of two consecutive columns are preserved, the first almost to its full width including line-ends, and line-beginnings of the second, containing lemmata, paraphrase, and comment on *O.* 1.17–27 and 30–39. The beginnings of two lines in a more cursive hand, apparently including a paraphrase of *O.* 1.43, are written in the upper margin of col. ii.

The lines, as reconstructed on the basis of the lemmata, range from 24 to 33 letters, thus 27–8 letters on average, giving an original column width of c.70 mm, plus c.10 mm intercolumnial space. The number of lines in the original column may be estimated (again from the missing lemmata plus average length of paraphrase or explanation) at c.55, giving a total height for the written area of c.18 cm. The height of the margins is not known: the upper margin (which may not be preserved to its full original height) extends to c.1.5 cm. The commentary appears to cover roughly 22 of Heyne's lines per column. At this rate, the whole of the *Olympians* would take 71 columns to cover; if there had been introductory material (perhaps comments on the date, victor, and contest of each of the odes—which is uncertain), the roll as a whole may have reached as many as 75 columns, and a length of 6 metres.

The main hand is an informal round bookhand, basically bilinear (but with bilinearity breached by  $\phi$  and  $\psi$ ), with semi-cursive tendencies: round shapes in  $\epsilon$   $\circ$   $\sigma$ , vertical extension in the other letters, and frequent connection. It bears a close resemblance to the script of XXIII 2367, another commentary on lyric verse (Bacchylides, *Epinicians*), copied on the back of a document, which shows many of the same idiosyncrasies. The size of writing is much smaller in 5201 than in 2367 (two-thirds the width and height; almost half the area), but it will be worth considering if both derive from the same scribe: in favour of this is the shared shape of the line-filler, against are minor variations in letter-forms (for example, in 2367 the cross-piece of  $\epsilon$  is sometimes reduced to a central dot, not so in 5201).

Label dated 2367 'not . . . later than the first half of the second century, if indeed it does not fall within the first', and the dating 1/II AD subsists e.g. in CLGP I.1.4 (Bacchylides i). However, the similar script of LXXVIII 5143 (Isocrates) was assigned to the second half of the first century BC or the earlier first century AD by

comparison to XIV 1635 (Cavallo–Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* no. 85), a deed of cession objectively dated to 44–30 BC (see BL VII 140); and the overall ungainliness recalls other examples with contextual dates in the first century AD (*GLH* 10a, 11a). On this basis we tentatively assign 5201 to the period I BC / I AD. The verso text provides no real check: the hand of the letter is a chunky half-cursive assignable to I/II AD.

The commentary, which is comparable in a number of places with the mediæval scholia (cf. on i 5–6, 10, 11, 18; ii 11, 31–2), is elementary and perfunctory, in some cases somewhat randomly explanatory. The lemmata, which consist of two to twenty-eight words, are written out in full, as prose (i.e. without colometry), and in consecutive entries, so as to reproduce (at any rate in the preserved portion) the entire text of the poem without omission. These are printed in the text below in bold and restored where deficient within lower half brackets in accordance with the spacing and the manuscript tradition of Pindar. The commentary on each lemma consists of a paraphrase (often simply replacing the poem's words with Koine prose forms), often with similar word-order, and occasionally adding a certain amount of explanation of varying relevance. The explanation may come in the course of the paraphrase. More learned material makes a brief appearance: at ii 33–5 we find a reference and comparison to Pindar's *ὑπορχήματα*; at i 19–23 there is a brief historical note; at i 14 a rhetorical term (*ἑμφασίς*) is invoked in the explanation. No other commentary on Pindar reproduces the text to this extent in its lemmata or explanations.

The scribe consistently writes iota adscript; once  $\epsilon\iota$  is written for  $\epsilon\iota$  (i 17 *νεῖκεν*, inconsistently so: contrast i 11 *υκ*], i 10 *Φερενυκ*], and cf. ii 4). There is no discernible punctuation (apart from blank space at the end of an explanation and before a new lemma, thus coinciding with sentence-end). Accents are written twice, in both cases in a lemma, to distinguish otherwise identical forms (i 15 *κράτει* to distinguish from *κράτες*, ii 14 *ἔκει* with its accent when initial). The scribe tacitly elides final vowels before words beginning with vowels in the lemmata, but writes with *scriptio plena* in the commentary (i 13), except when repeating words from the lemma (ii 28). At line-end, letters are occasionally suspended, or filler-signs added, in order to justify the margin. The filler-sign varies between  $\}$  and 7, and may be doubled (i 24) or reinforced by a double point (clearly at i 15); for such signs in general, see above p. 58. Word-ends are sometimes suspended, even within the line (e.g. ii 16, 28), often followed by a small space. Suspension of this kind is combined with contraction at i 24 *πελοσ(ο)* (probably also at i 26), ii 3 *αυθρωσ(οις)*, ii 9 *επιλοιπ(οι)*, where the omitted elements are represented by an almost semicircular  $\pi$  above the preceding letter. Contraction is marked by a suprascript line at i 12 *ποταμ(ο)*, i 4 *στ]σ(ο)*, ii 35 *πυθ(αρος)*, and probably i 19 *φη(ει)*. For  $\pi\rho(ο)$  the scribe employs the monogram  $\pi^{\rho}$  consisting of a  $\pi$  with a  $\rho$  intersecting its top. A new lemma is signalled by space within and paragraphus beneath the line in which it begins, together with *ἐκθεσις*



(by about one letter's width) of the first part of the lemma (or its comment) that falls on a new line (evident at ii 9-10, 20-21, 26-7).

The scribe commits a number of errors, which are occasionally corrected by the same hand (by suprascript letters: i 3, 91); but others remain uncorrected. The lemmata, here collated as witnesses to the transmitted text of *O.* i.19-39, do not share the trivial errors of the mediaeval MSS at 22 *πρόσιμειξε* and 23 *Συρακίον ἰπποχάρμιν*, but do share one at 26 *ἔξειλε*. Similarly, they give a new trivial variant at 26 (*μιν* for *νιν*).

An edition was originally prepared by W. S. Barrett, in conjunction with those of the papyri of Pindar's *Epitaiia* published in volume LXXV (5035-5045). The present edition incorporates the most important of his contributions to the constitution of the text and interpretation in the commentary. We are indebted to Dr W. B. Henry for various corrections and updatings, as well as the suggestions distinguished by his initials.

## Col. i

] υπογλυκιταταις, θηκεφροντιν  
 ] επαλαφειωνυτοδεμασκεντητ<sup>OP</sup>  
 ] δρᾶμοισιπαρεχωναλλα, [. . .] ρου>:  
 ] σαλουλαμβαεντηνβ[. . .] κη<sup>v</sup>  
 5 ] αρα, [ωριμηροτιδαρ[. . .] γραφει  
 ] ευσιω[. . .] ισηρη, [. . .] γικου  
 ] σεκτηρη[. . .] νικυ>:  
 ] αιςφρον, [. . .] ν[. . .]  
 ] αραλφειο[. . .]  
 10 ] φερενικ[. . .] [. . .] >  
 ] χαριστηρικ[. . .] φ, [. . .] >  
 ] οταπεινηλι, [. . .] ωνηλις>:  
 ] ολυμπιαφ[. . .] c, σεεδραμεν  
 [κ]  
 ] φακεντρι, το, εμφασισγενναιο  
 15 ] κρατειδεφειμεξειδεσποταν>:  
 ] ακοσιονιπποχ, [. . .] νβασιληα  
 ] δανεκη, εμε[. . .] δεσποτ<sup>πν</sup>  
 ] ακοσιον, [. . .] ππ[. . .] ε βασιλ<sup>ι</sup>  
 ] ν[. . .] τη, [. . .] φ, πταιν, υ, . . .  
 20 ] πολεμοιουσυνε  
 ] ωνατουλιβυ  
 ] τεκτατοτασεν  
 ] πειδ, οικλεος

ου, υπό γλυκιταταις θηκε φροντιν,  
 δε, ε παρ' Αλφειών σότο δέμας ἀκέντητον  
 ἐν δρόμοις παρέχων· ἀλλ' ἀπ[ο] τ[ο]υ  
 π[α]λάου λάμβανε τὴν ἄ[ω]ρικὴν  
 κισθάραν(ν)· ἄωρικ[ος] ὅτι διαρ[ιστ]εῖ γράφει  
 Αἰο[λ]ηδες ὦν· [εἰ] τ[ί] εἰς ἡ τ[ο]υ Φερενικου  
 χάρ[ι]ς ἐκ τῆς Π[ι]σίχης . . . γλυκι-  
 τάτ[ι]ς φροντ[ί]ς . . . ν[. . .]  
 . . . ἄν Αλφειο[. . .]  
 . . . Φερενικ[. . .] [. . .]  
 . . . χάρ[ι]ς ἡ νικ[. . .] Α]λφει[. . .]  
 ὅς π[ο]σταμ(ος) ἐν Ἡλιδ[ί] . . . ἰων Ἡλκ  
 . . . Ὀλυμπια· Φερένικ[ος] δὲ ἔδραμεν  
 ὁ ἐπ[ι]π(ος) ἀκέντητος· ἐμφασίς γενναῖο-  
 τητ[ῆ]ς(ος)· κράτει δὲ π[ρ]ο(ς)φίμειξε δεσπόταν,  
 Συρακίον ἰπποχάρμιν βασιλῆα·  
 τῆ] δὲ νείκει π[ρ]ο(ς)φίμειξε τὸ]ν δεσπότην,  
 Συρακίον ἐ[φ'] ἴππων μαχόμενον βασιλέα  
 ν[. . .] τη[. . .] . . . φη(σι) ταῦτα ὁ . . .  
 ] πολεμοῖουσυνε-  
 ] ἰωνά τὸν Λιβυ-  
 κ]ατεκτάτο τὰς ἐν  
 ] λάμπει δὲ οἱ κλέος

] ελδασοικια>2  
 25 ] π, . δ, [. . . . .] [. . .] τροκλεος  
 ] ουλυδη[. . . . .] δρω, αποι  
 ] τρηγη, [. . . . .] λοφπροπροι  
 ] εκτρατο[. . . . .] απονομοαυ  
 ] ροστημηπρ[. . .] μπειαντουμεγα  
 30 ] ηγερσασα[. . .] γαιαοχοστει  
 ] [ε]ομγααθεν[. . .] γαιαοχοστο  
 ] δωνητραθη επειμω[. . .] ρου  
 ] τοσεσειλεκλωθ[. . .] φαν  
 ] [. . .] ε[. . .]

ἐν εὐάνοι Λαυδοῦ Πέλοπ(ος) ἀποικία·  
 λάμπει δὲ [τοῦ Ἰέραν]ο[ς] τὸ κλέος ἐν  
 τῆ] τοῦ Λαυδοῦ Πέλοπ(ος) εὐάν]ιδρω] ἀποι-  
 κία]· τὴν Ἡλίω [λέγ]ει, ἣν δὲ Πέλοψ πρὸ προ-  
 κῆ]ς ἐκτέτατο [λαβῶ]ν ἀπ' Οἰνομάου  
 πα]τρός τὴν Ἰπποχάρμ]ειαν, τοῦ μεγα-  
 θ]ωνος ἐφάσται, οὐ γαῖαοχος Ποσει-  
 δάν, οὐδ' ὁ μεγαθεν[ῆ]ς γαῖαοχος Πο-  
 σειδῶν ἠράθη, ἐπεὶ μιν καθάρου  
 λέβητος ἐξείλε Κλωθᾶ, ἐλέφαν-  
 τι φαίδιμον ὄμιον κεκαδμέζι, οἱ [

## Col. ii

. . ν, [. . .] φηρη, [. . .]  
 γενεστροφχι

πιστομεμεν, [. . .]  
 ριςπτεραπαν, [. . .]  
 τοιςανθρῶπ[. . .]  
 τεμνητηφ, [. . .]  
 5 επετηθευεν[. . .] 5  
 ραδοχηπτοιση, [. . .]  
 ητικ, ν χαριμη[. . .]  
 αληθειανπαρ, [. . .]  
 αμεραιεπιδῶμα[. . .]  
 10 δεεπερχομενο[. . .] 10  
 μαρτυροσελε, [. . .]  
 οχρονοσυρακος[. . .]  
 ταλανθανοντα[. . .]  
 μονοσετιδαν[. . .]  
 15 αμφιδαμονω[. . .] 15  
 ανθρῶπ[. . .] ολλουκ, [. . .]  
 ανκαλα μειω[. . .]  
 γαραιταιτοτα[. . .]  
 μειαντιτου, [. . .]  
 20 μετανταλουφ, [. . .] 20

. . ν, [. . .] φηρη, [. . .] μετα-  
 γενεστροφ χλῆρωφ  
 πιστόν ἐμμενα, τὸ πολλάκις. [ἡ δὲ χά-  
 ρις ἦπερ ἀπαντ]α  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώπο[ι]ς π[. . .]  
 τε(ι)μὴν ἐπέφ[η]ρουσα  
 5 ἐπέτηθευεν τ[. . .] πα-  
 ραδοχῆς ποιησα[. . .]  
 ἠτικ, ν χάρις ἡ[. . .]  
 ἀλθίθειαν παρ[. . .]  
 ἀμείρας (δ') ἐπέλοισ(αι) μάστρες σοφώτατοι· [ . . .]  
 10 δὲ ἐπερχόμενο[. . .] 10  
 μάρτυρος ἐλε, [. . .]  
 ὁ χρόνος γάρ, ὡς [ . . .]  
 "τὰ λαθάνοντα [ . . .]  
 μόνος", ἔστι δ' ἀνδρὶ φάμεν δοικὸς  
 15 ἀμφὶ δαμόνων καλὰ· [ . . .]  
 ἀνθρώποι ὄλον κα[. . .]  
 ἢ καλὰ, μείω γὰρ αἰτία· [ἐλάττω  
 γὰρ αἰτία τοῦ τα[. . .]  
 με(ι)ων ἀντι τοῦ, [. . .]  
 20 γιὲ Ταντάλου· πρ(ὸς) τ[ὸν Πέλοπα.] ιε δ' ὀνία

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>προτερωνφθεγ[<br/>         μαιπαρταυπο[<br/>         μεναπερικοουκ[<br/>         ευστοχ ετην[<br/>         25 θαρακεκτηρδια[<br/>         πατηρνεουνο[<br/>         φιλαντεσιυλου[<br/>         παρεκ<sup>θη</sup>κε[<br/>         εισνεουνομ[<br/>         30 νομωτατουθ[<br/>         φιληντεσιυλου[<br/>         καιπολιςτοιεθ[<br/>         ξαμοιβηδε<sup>θη</sup>[<br/>         υπορχημαετη[<br/>         35 ριστηει[. ]πινδ[</p> | <p>προτέρων φθεγ[ξομα· [ ]<br/>         μαι παρά τὰ ὑπὸ τ[ὼν προτέρων εἰρη-<br/>         μένα περὶ {c} εὐ: δ κ[ ]<br/>         εὐστόχος τῆν [ ] κα-<br/>         25 θάραξ ἐκ τῆς δια[ ] ὑπὸν* ἐκάλεσε<br/>         πατήρ τὸν εὐνομάτατον ἐς ἔρανον<br/>         φίλαν τὸν Σίτυλον, ἄμοιβαία θεοῖσι δέιπνα<br/>         παρήγων ὑπὸτ' ἐκάλεσε<br/>         εἰς τὸν εὐνομάτατον εὐ-<br/>         30 νομάτατον θ[ ] · και τῆν<br/>         φίλην Σίτυλον [Σίτυλος ὄρος Λυδίας<br/>         και πόλις τοῖς θεοῖς<br/>         ξ ἄμοιβῆς δέιπνα]· [ ]<br/>         ὑπορχήματι τῆ[ ]<br/>         35 ρίστησι [δ] Πίνδ(αρος) [ ]</p> |
|---|---|

## Col. i

3 ], tip of high horizontal [ ], high horizontal 4 ], short diagonal on edge at top, e.g. top right extremity of c 5 a [ ], top of triangular letter [ ], traces in upper part of writing space 6 ], low curving stroke, ligature to following ε [ ], left end of horizontal at upper level (τ?) 7 ], two traces in diagonal alignment descending from left to right in upper part of writing space 8 ], speck on the baseline ]̄, above the hooked foot of a descending oblique; then a rubbed upright as of 1, then (encroaching on the margin) a small upright with more ink to its left and a thin horizontal extending rightwards from its top and then curving downwards 9 ]̄, the apex of λ or λ separated from its two legs by a break in the papyrus (but too much ink at left for λ), then η or λ, but space probably too narrow for the latter ]̄, short horizontal trace at mid-height 10 [ ], loop as of right-hand side of ν or μ 11 ], two traces, one at top and one at mid-height, as of diagonal descending from left to right 12 ], trace of left-hand arc 13 ], top of oblique descending from left to right 13 ], hooked foot joining ο, as of λ, λ, μ 14 ], trace at mid-height 14 κ added superscript then deleted with a diagonal stroke 15 ], lower arc at line-level 17 ], scattered traces on disordered fibres 16 ], ink on edge at one-third height 1 ], remains of diagonal descending from left to right 17 ], right-hand arc (loop of η?) projecting above normal top level 18 ], lower arc ]̄, high horizontal 19 ], high horizontal with joining stroke vertical descending, superscript perhaps bottom arc of ω 20 ], upright with joining stroke curving upwards into back of ε ελ ... , two uprights, followed by round letter like c or o, then upright in right part of letter-space, with blank space on line (erased letter?) marking point of superscript insertion, as elsewhere in this text at end, points of ink at letter-top level (superscripts?) 19 ], upper arc of round letter τη ], upright in left part of letter space [ ], lower arc on displaced fibres?; foot of upright τ, top [of diagonal?] joining right-hand extremity of τ υ, uncertain traces (letter or filler-sign?) 20 ], simous upright projecting well above letter-tops 23 ], upright curving rightwards at base 21 ], three points of ink in vertical alignment 25 ], tip of (curving?) tail at line-level π, lower arc, ?foot of upright ]̄, ink level with letter-tops 26 ], right-hand end of high horizontal ω, oblique foot (spacing suggests ι) 27 ], point on

edge at line-level; more ink above joining cross-bar of η? [ ], hooked foot of upright [ ], short horizontal trace at line-level below lacuna; point above lacuna 28 ], short horizontal trace on edge [ ], upright 29 ], end of high horizontal from right, point on line below 30 ], tip of horizontal or oblique at mid-height 31 at beginning, a diagonal stroke; then π, over which υ has been written, and to the left of that of an ω with its bottom part missing 34 ]. [ ], top of a vertical, then traces suggesting top of η, allowing e.g. ]̄[ο] but not ]̄[ε] or ]̄[ε]

## Col. ii

1 ], trace on edge, slightly below mid-height 2 ], horizontal trace on edge, level with letter-tops 4 ], remains of left-hand arc on edge 6 ], at mid-height, oblique sloping down from right to left, hooked sharply to right at foot 7 κ, see comm. 8 ], at line-level, ink sloping down from right to left, perhaps from loop of λ 11 ], angular upper arc 16 ], towards line-level, ink sloping down gently from right to left 19 ], horizontal at lower level with upright as of τ or π, further ink at mid-height to right (τ [ or remains of Φ?) 20 ], point of ink at letter-top level 22 ], ink (left-hand end of horizontal?) touching a near top 24 χ, lower legs and top left of χ, then high ink (belonging to χ or to the next letter?) and to right of writing space, with medial crossbar sloping up to right 25 δια, point on edge at top level 28 ], in upper part of writing space, oblique sloping down gently from left to right, two levels of horizontal ink below 29 ], ink at top level, to left of writing space, rising gently from left to right 30 θ, apparently lower left arc, in upper part of writing space (not α) 33 ], top left quadrant of a round letter, with a dot of ink at mid-level protruding to right of arc, as of ε

## Col. i

1-3 Part of a lemma, which must have begun (at the bottom of the preceding column) with ν. 17 of the poem, to judge from the paraphrase and remarks below 13-15, and extends to v. 21: ἄλλα Δωρίων ἀπὸ φέρμενα πικέλλων / λημέων, εἰ τὶ τοῖς Πίλας τε καὶ Φεραινοῖς χάρις / νόον ἰσὺ νόον· τὰς εἴηκε θροονίας, / ἴνε κελ; thus only the second half of the lemma is preserved, together with paraphrase and remarks on the first half.

4 λημέων: an obvious error for the ληφέων given by the mediaeval MSS.

5 ε: the trace is the tip of a high cross-stroke; to read it as η, we must take it as a serif on the tip of the second upright, which would be highly anomalous. εη would be much easier, if sense could be made of it.

5-6 A number of explanations for Δωρίων are given in the scholia, of which this is one: sch. 26f ὅτι Δωριεὶ ἐνὸς τῶν αἰώνων ὁ ἔπικου. Pindar is called Αἰολοῦς at sch. M. 3.195a καθὸ τὸν γένει ἐστὶν Αἰολοῦς ὡς Βουρῆς, cf. 195b, P. 2.128a.

7-8 Π[ε]ρ... γ]λαυκ[ί]ται: if Π[ε]ρ is correct, presumably a participle like γενόμενη (or perhaps τὸν νόον) is missing.

8-9 Presumably still part of the paraphrase, with the explanations starting somewhere in 10.

9 ]̄: uncertain (see palaeographic note). An article might have been expected before ληφέων (assuming this is still part of the paraphrase).

10 Cf. sch. 29a ὄνομα τοῦ νεύσαντος ἔπικου (thus here: 'Pherenikos is the horse?').

11 Perhaps χάρις ἢ νεύσαντος ἔπικου (cf. sch. 29a χάρις δὲ ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς νεύσης ἔπικου), which would fit the space before λ]ληφέ[ι].

12 ..... ]̄ων: WBH suggests περιρ]σων, cf. sch. 32a ὁ γὰρ ληφέων ἐν Μαραθῶσι τὰς πηγάς ἐχει, και δὲ αὐτῆς ἀρχόμενος περιρ]σων και τῆν ἴλιον.

13 ... ]̄. Ὀλυμνια: the trace a hooked foot, as of λ, λ, μ. Perhaps ἴλιον [σὸ τ]ὰ Ὀλύμνια (WBH), 'Ilis is the site of the Olympics'.

14 ἀεινέριετος: also found as a gloss on the Homeric φέρετας, e.g. sch. D. II. 6.94 van Thiel φέρετας: ἀεινέριετος, ἀδάμειετος (ἀεινέριετος QX, ἀεινέριετος LI).

14–15 ἔμφασις γενναίου(τη)ῖ[ος]: 'an implication of nobility', i.e. of the horse (or by extension, its owner), in the words just paraphrased (on his ability to race unaided). But ἔμφασις may also mean 'emphasis' in the modern sense; see R. Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work* (2009) 221.

15–16 A complete lemma, covering vv. 22–3 of the poem. Variants: 15 (22) προ(σ)μαξεῖ (anticipating Schroeder's printing); προ(σ)μαξεῖ given by the mediaeval MSS; 16 (23) Κυρ, ακόσιον ἰστωχά, μ, μ, μ, μ: Κυρακόσιον (variously misspelt) and ἰστωχάρμην (or -χαρμῶν) the mediaeval MSS. In the latter, -ίων would be unmetrical, and the comments in the mediaeval scholia presuppose accusative -ίων . . . -χάρμην. The correction of ἰστω- to ἰστω-, printed in modern editions, has been owed until now to the Byzantine recensions.

18 [[σ'] ἵππων] μ, μαχόμερον. For the explanation of ἰστωχάρμην, cf. Apollon. *Lex.* (= sch. Od. II.25) ἰστωχάρμην ἦτοι χαίρουσα ἵππος ἢ δέψ' ἵππων μαχόμερον (similarly sch. D. II. 24.237 van Thiel; for the former, cf. also sch. Pind. O. 1.35a τὸν τῆς ἱπποτικῆς χαίρουσα). If μαχόμερον is rightly restored, we must conclude that the commentator chose what might otherwise be thought the wrong explanation for the context (though Verdenius on v. 23 provides a counter-argument). But it seems impossible to fit χαίρουσα into this sequence, and μαχόμερον may be supported by what appears to be a reference to historical fighting in the remains of 19–23 (note the imperfect in 22). On the compound, see further M. Benedetti, 'Il composto omerico ἰστωχάρμης', *HAL* 34 (1979) 169–85; E. Cingano, 'Il cavallo "aiutante magico" nella Grecia eroica', in *id.* et al. (eds.), *Animali tra zoologia, mito e letteratura nella cultura classica e orientale* (2005) 139–54, at 149–50 with nn. 48–50.

20–21 κινεῖ[ι]: with παλάμιον, perhaps a part of συνέστημι.

21 ἴωνα. One looks for a proper name. But Hieron is less likely, if he is the subject of the verb in 22. This leaves Gelon, Theron (but these outside the reach of O. 17), or perhaps a Carthaginian personal name (cf. perhaps Λιβύ-).

23 Perhaps Hieron (or one of those considered above) gained possession of τὰς ἐν [ . . . πόλει], e.g. Sicily?, Carthage?, 'Libya'? E.g. τὰς ἐν [Κικελία πόλει] (Κικελία perhaps a little long for the space, but as Prof. D'Alessio notes, the scribe may have suspended or abbreviated the word-end). Or perhaps simply τὰς εὐτραῖα πόλει (WBH).

23–4 Lemma (vv. 23–4).

26 For the contraction of Πέλοπος see 24.

27 [λύ(ε)]: sc. the poet, if correctly restored, in which case the commentator explicitly identifies the ἀνοικία in the poem as Elis. Alternatively, WBH suggests τῆν Ἥλιον, [ὡς εἶπὲ (sc. ὁ Πίνδαρος), δ] Πέλοψ κτλ.: the commentator would be looking forward to O. 9.6–10 σερμὸν . . . ἀκρωτήριον Ἰλίουδ . . . / τὸ δὲ ποῖον Ἀνδὸς ἦρος Πέλοψ / ἔξαρτο κάλυπτον ἴθων Ἰπποδαμείας (sch. O. 9.15b offers a similar paraphrase of that passage: ὁ αὐτὸς δεινὸν λαβὼν προσετήκετο). For ὡς εἶπὲ referring forward in the text under discussion, cf. sch. Hes. Op. 785–6 (but referring forward only a short distance, to 788).

29–31 Lemma (vv. 25–6).

31 δάν, οἰ. δάν will just fit the space, or project slightly into the left margin. Then apparently σπθ, with ῥι written (as correction) above σπθ. This reconstruction makes good sense, but does not account for the original σπθ.

32–4 Lemma (vv. 26–7).

32 μν: μν (the Doric form) is given by the mediaeval MSS. LXXV 5039 gives at P. 1.32 another example of μν where only νν was previously attested. For the problem, see Barrett, *Greek Lyric*, *Tapscott*, & *Textual Criticism* (2007) 110 n. 89; Braswell on P. 4.79f(e).

33 ἐξέλε with the mediaeval MSS, unmetrically: ἐξέλε Mosch.

Beginning of the end of col. i and the beginning of col. ii. We are missing (a) paraphrase and/or

explanation of 32–4 (v. 26) ἐνὶ μν . . . κεκαμῆνον; (b) a complete lemma for vv. 28–9 ἢ θαύματα . . . μῦθος; (c) paraphrase/explanation for this; (d) the beginning (χάρσις . . . ἔμικτο, vv. 30–31) of the lemma of which we have the end at the top of col. ii. (b) and (d) between them will have amounted to c.166 letters, about 6 lines of text in the present prose format. If the paraphrases themselves extended to c.7 lines, and as much space again (proportionate to the preserved entries) was taken up by the explanations, we shall be missing at least 20–21 lines, which with the preserved 34 lines, gives a total of c.55 lines for the column.

## Col. ii

mg. WBH supplies μετα]γενετέρον χάρσιν, recognizing here a paraphrase of O. 1.43 δευτέρω χάρσιν. Perhaps part of the text had dropped out through an oversight lower down the column.

1 Conclusion of a lemma, originally covering vv. 30–32 of the poem (χάρσις δ', ἄπερ ἄπαντα τεύχεα τὰ μέλαιρα θνατοῖς, / ἐπιφύρουσα τιμῶν καὶ ἀκίτων ἔμικτο] μιστὸν / ἔμμενοι τὰ πολλὰίε), of which the papyrus preserves the end of v. 31 and all of v. 32.

2f. WBH suggests a possible reconstruction, using the elements in sch. 48b, e.g.,

χά-  
ρις ἦπερ ἄπαν[α τὰ φέδα πράγματα  
τοῖς ἀνθρώπο(ι)σι] π[αρακινεῖται, τῆν  
τε(ν)οῖ] μὴν ἐπιφ[ύρουσα πολλὰίε  
ἐπετέφενον τῶ] ἀκίτων μιστὸν πα-  
ροδοχῆ τοῖς[ε]β[αι]

(of which πράγματα (2) may have had its termination suspended to save space).

5–6 π[α]ροδοχῆ: potentially a term of textual or literary criticism, either in the sense of 'tradition' (including oral or written textual paradoxos), or of 'acceptance', i.e. of a mythological tradition. Cf. sch. 48c τὸ ποῖμα τὸ πελαγονικὸν διαδεχθὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν μιστῶν ἐγένετο. The latter sense has obvious relevance in the context of the present passage, especially in reference to the obligation (or not) of the poet to preserve the tradition.

7 ἦντιν υ χάρσιν η]: Mr Barrett, reading [ ἢ τιμῶν χάριν η] [, interpreted 7–8 as 'either to hold χάριν in honour or to prefer the truth', which he thought likely to be a quotation from drama (now given in *TGF* II as fr. adesp. 453a). He noted, however, that such a quotation would be neither necessary nor apposite to the interpretation of Pindar's words. In fact, τιμῶν cannot be read; the third letter is certainly kappa. WBH suggests ε.γ τὰ διὰ τῆν πο]ιητικῆν χάριν η] [δὲτα γενομένα τῆν] ἀλφειαν παρ[ε]βιάζετα . . . (Sim. *PMG* 598 τὸ δονεὶ καὶ τὰν ἀλφειαν βιάται).

9 Lemma (vv. 33–4), with δ(ι) accidentally omitted (but present in the paraphrase, see 10).

9–10 δ] [ δὲ ἐπερχόμενος χρόνος seems likely as an equivalent to (33) ἀμέρισι ἐπλοῖστοι.

11 ἐλε. [?: perhaps ἐλεγχ-, which finds some support in sch. 53b ἀξιώσεως ἐλεγχος.

12–13 ὁ χρόνος . . . τὰ λυθάνοντα . . . μόνος. Mr Barrett here identified another likely quotation from drama. The space could easily be filled, and the quotation introduced, by e.g. ὡς [φθινὴν Βύρμιτιδος, although this is hardly the only possibility for author (or supplement). Kanciani prints the lines in *TGF* II as fr. adesp. 453b, suggesting in 13 after τὰ λυθάνοντα the supplement [πρὸς τὸ φῶς φέρε]. However, WBH observes that the commentator may simply be paraphrasing O. 10.53–5 δ τ' ἐξελέγχεω μόνος / ἀλφειαν ἐτήγημον / χρόνος: 'For the author's use of an illustration from later on in the book, cf. above on 127. Here too we could have ὡς [εἶπὲ but there are other possibilities, e.g. ὡς [φθινὴ δ Πίνδαρος. Then in line 13 e.g. τὰ λυθάνοντα [πάντα ἦναι φανερό] (cf. sch. O. 10.63ab δ τῆν ἀλφειαν (πάσαι) πάσι φανερόν χρόνος).'

14–15 Lemma (v. 35).

15–17 E.ε [προσέχει δέ] [ ἀθρόωτον δλον κα] [ τὸ πᾶν ἵππων περι θε] [ ἴων κάλδ.

17 Lemma (conclusion of v. 35). Then *ἀλλήτων* is the standard scholastic gloss on *μείων*; we cannot tell whether the papyrus had *ἐκλιτων* or *ελασσων* (cf. ii 23 *περικου*, though that is a mistake for *περι. κου*).

18 19 E.g. τὸ πᾶ [καλὰ λέγειν τὸ δέ] | με(ω)ν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλ. On the whole, and especially in the light of the occurrence of *μείων* in the lemma (v. 35), a miswriting of *μείων* as *μει* seems more likely than e.g. an itacistic spelling *ἡ[μείων]* or *ἡ[μείων]* (although cf. 17 *νείων*).

19 [: Possibly the monogram abbreviation for *πρ(ος)* (see palaeographic note), e.g. ἀντὶ τοῦ πρ(ος)φάρων τῆν αἰτίων, 'rather than conferring blame'. WBI suggests instead με(ω)ν ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆδ' ἀπαράταν οὐδεμία (cf. sch. 55c *ἑναι δὲ μείων ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδὲ ἀλίγη ὡς Ὀμηρος* (Il. 5.800): ἡ δὲ ἀλίγη τὸ παιδα ἐκούσα γείνατο Τυδεΐδ' ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδὲ ἀλίγων ἴν' ἦ, οὐδὲ ἀλίγη ἔκρινε αἰτία τῆ καλὰ λέγοντι περὶ θεῶν), which fits the context but requires us to assume that the final trace of 19, a dot at mid-height, should be discounted.

20 Lemma (start of v. 36). Afterwards, the monogram abbreviation for *πρ(ος)*, followed by a possible τ[; hence: *πρ(ος) τ[ὸν Πέλοπα]*, sc. *λέγει* or *λέγειται*, 'addressed (or in reference) to Pelops'.

20-21 Lemma (remainder of v. 36).

23-5 References to 'success' (24 *εὐτόχως*), 'pure' (24-5 *κα]*θαρὰς, whether *καθάραι* or *καθάραι*, -αί; *καθάραι* is also used of the cauldron in v. 26 of the poem, which could be relevant here), and perhaps *διαβ[ολή]* (23) begin to outline a statement (possibly gnomic) about the poet's ability or attempt to remove discreditable charges or slander. δ κ(ω)ν (23) might allude to the poet's act of inventing (in the context) in myth, but it is difficult to see what the subject, or indeed verb, should be. 24 τῆν [: an upright and a medial cross-piece: since the cross-piece slopes upwards, more likely κ than η. WBI suggests, very tentatively, a restoration on the lines of

δ κ(ω)νδὸς μῦθος ἀμείων,  
εὐτόχως τῆν κ(ω)ντροπῶν ἐκα-  
θάραι ἐκ τῆς διαβ[ολῆς

(construction as in Dinarchus 2.5 *ἐκαθάρατε, καθ' ὅσον θανάτων ἐστί, τὴν δουροκλίαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*). 'The new story (is better)', as it has successfully cleared away the abuse from the false accusation'.

25-8 Lemma (vv. 38-9).

27 The supplement is rather long for the space: abbreviation or suspension of one or more of the three words may be posited, rather than an omission of any one of them. 'The word affected will surely have been the final word of the line, *θεῖται*. Suspension is likeliest at the end of the line, cf. i 2, 4, etc. And this word is so treated on its next appearance, ii 33' (WBI).

28-33 The paraphrase is interspersed with explanations (29-30 *ἐνομούματων*, 31-2 *Σιτυλων*).

28-9 E.g. *ἑπὶ δόκ' ἀλέκερον δ' πατῆρ σου* | εἰς τὸν ἐνομούματων ἔσανον.

30 θ. [: in the context, no doubt θε[ω], e.g. θε[ω]σεβέστατον (glossing *ἐνομούματων*).

31-2 So sch. 62a *οἱ μὲν πόλεως ὄνομα, οἱ δὲ θρονεῖ περὶ τῆν Λυδίας*. For the form of the restoration, cf. sch. O. 9.88b *Μαίναλον θρονε Μρακίας καὶ πόλεω*.

33-5 Perhaps 'in his *ὑπορχήματα* Pindar represents (παι)ρίκτρις . . .', with the object being something like Tantalus or his meal. The last trace in 33 suggests *ε* (see palaeographic note). Thus a tantalising possibility for the reconstruction of these lines is *ἐ[τάραι δὲ ἐν τοῖς] | ὑπορχήματι τῆν ἐκτίαν ταύτην παιρίκτρις [2] Πινδ(αρος)* ('Pindar represents this entertainment differently in the *Hyporchemata*'), which, if correct, would shed new light on the content of that shadowy Pindaric genre.

† W. S. BARRETT / D. OBINK

## 5202. COPY OF AN HONORIFIC INSCRIPTION FOR THE POETIC VICTOR APION

28 4B-5B/(7)

13.5 × 26 cm

Mid or second half of first century

Parts of 36 lines with upper (2.5 cm) and lower (2 cm) margins. The document is complete on the right for the first 10 lines, with no significant free margin, and on the left for lines 1-9 and 23-36, with a margin of 2 cm at its widest. It is badly mutilated in places, and much of its middle section is lacunose. The upper left corner has been assembled from three separate fragments; eight remaining scraps could not be joined. There are on average about 33 letters per line. The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank.

Preserved is a self-standing copy of an inscription listing the honours and privileges conferred on Apion, son of Posidonius, for victories in various poetic contests. Among his distinctions can be counted double victory in the competitions making up the *periodos* or circuit of the great crown-games (excluding the Olympics, which did not host musical-poetic contests); triple victory at the Heraea in Argos, the prize for which was a bronze shield; success with a tragedy in Syracuse; and victory at the Sebastia in Naples and other unspecified contests. His native city, which is not named, honours him with the standard privileges and awards accorded to victors in the great games: triumphal entrance into the city in a white four-horse chariot; meals in the prytaneum; a golden crown(?); a gilded crown said to be 'of the *periodos*'; and no doubt other awards now lost in the large lacunae following line 10. The rest of the document enumerates the honours bestowed on Apion by other bodies or cities, which become more or less continuously legible only from line 23 onward: he was granted statues and portrait *tondos* (*ἀπειδεία*) by an uncertain branch of the association of Dionysiac artists and by the association of worldwide sacred victors in Rome; statues of him were apparently erected in the five agonistic centres of Actium, Olympia, Delphi, the Isthmus, and Nemea; and the Syracusans honoured him with two statues, a gold-plated shield-portrait, a golden crown worth fifty gold pieces, and residence in the Museum near the theatre, presumably in connection with the dramatic victory mentioned in 4-5.

Although none of his works survive complete, the honorand Apion is a known Alexandrian intellectual from the first half of the first century AD; see 1 n. for bibliography and further details. There were two main facets to his posthumous fame. As a Homeric scholar he was the author of an etymological lexicon entitled *γλῶσσαι Ὀμηρικαί*, for which our principal source is the lexicon of Apollonius Sophista. As a target of Josephus' *Contra Apionem* 2.1-144 (the work is not concerned only with Apion and its original title is unknown) he is notorious as an opponent of the Alexandrian Jews and an exponent of scurrilous accounts of Jewish history and customs in his *Aegyptiaca*. Josephus also states in *AJ* 18.257-9 that Apion was a member of the embassy sent to plead the case of the Alexandrian Greeks before

Gaius following the violent conflict with the city's Jews in AD 38. An account of the Jewish delegation is preserved by its head Philo in *Legatio ad Gaium* (esp. 44–6), but he mentions Apion neither in the account of the embassy nor in that of the disturbances of 38 in his *In Flaccum*; on the conflict see most recently S. Gambetti, *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 C.E. and the Persecution of the Jews: A Historical Reconstruction* (2009).

Because of the piecemeal and tendentious nature of the testimonies to his life, there are several doubtful questions surrounding Apion's biography. The present document helps to illuminate a few and adds a new dimension to our knowledge of this influential figure, revealing that he was also a widely celebrated poet in his lifetime. The identity of the *πατρις* honouring him is uncertain and is bound to the disputed question of Apion's ultimate origin and the localization of the rare demotic *Φλωσαρόπειος*. The city is likely to be Alexandria, which at some point granted Apion citizenship, but Ptolemais in Upper Egypt cannot be certainly excluded in the present state of the evidence (see 1 n.). Another contentious issue that **5202** settles more conclusively is the origin and meaning of the epithet *ἡετρονιεύης* attached to Apion in several testimonia (see 2–3 n.). It is striking that, apart from this epithet, Apion's fame and achievements as a prize-winning poet have left hardly a trace in the literary sources in comparison with his scholarly reputation. Gellius alone hints at his literary capabilities, although not with explicit reference to poetry: 5.14.1 *litteris homo multis praeditus*, 7.8.1 *facili atque alacri facundia fuit*; these statements may well relate only to Apion's scholarly writings, which Gellius goes on to quote.

It is tempting to connect the victorious *duode periodos* commemorated in the inscription to Seneca's statement that *Apion grammaticus . . . sub C. Caesare tota circumlatus est Graecia et in nomen Homeri ab omnibus civitatibus adoptatus* (*Ep.* 88.40). If so, the honorific title 'Homericus' presumably granted to him by Greek cities probably rested on his performances as a poet rather than on his Homeric scholarship as is usually assumed, and the inscription can be dated to the reign of Gaius (37–41) or shortly thereafter. However, in view of Seneca's qualification of Apion as *grammaticus* and the fact that the epithet 'Homericus' was also bestowed on scholars (cf. e.g. the roughly contemporary Alexandrian grammarian Seleucus, *FGHHist* 341), some caution is advisable in correlating the two testimonia. For some poets of the Imperial period honoured with the name of Homer, see E. L. Bowie in S. Walker, A. Cameron (edd.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (*BICS* 55; 1989) 202–3. Another potential link with the reign of Gaius is the possible coincidence of Apion's dramatic victory in Syracuse with the *ludi aistici* celebrated there by the emperor, probably in the summer of 38 (see 4–5 n.). Such a concentration of successes in the reign of Gaius might help explain why Apion was chosen to represent the Alexandrian Greeks before this emperor in 39.

The document supplies several additional details of interest: one of the earliest instances of the title *παιδοδιδάκτης* (2–3 n.); the earliest attestation of the association of worldwide sacred victors at Rome (26–7 n.); the implication of a dramatic

contest in early Imperial Syracuse; and the second occurrence of the shadowy Museum of the latter city, with an indication that it was used to house distinguished poets and performers (36 n.).

Self-standing copies or drafts of inscriptions on papyrus are rather rare. P. Lond. I 137 (2) verso preserves a copy of a letter of Marcus Antonius to the *κοινὸν Ἀείας* concerning the privileges of the association of worldwide sacred victors, which is written on the back of a medical text of the first century AD; see J. Ebert, *APF* 33 (1987) 37–42, and most recently A. Ricciardetto, *APF* 58 (2012) 43–60 (arguing for a connection with the medical text on the front), and cf. I. Tralleis 105 (11/11) for a later copy on stone. P. Hamb. I 22 = Suppl. Mag. 60 (Panopolis; 1v) is a draft of a Christian funerary inscription in hexameters. The fragmentary P. Meyer 27 (Ars.?, n/III) has been interpreted by its editor as a copy of several short funerary inscriptions, although this is far from certain. XLI 2950 = ChLA XLVII 1414 (after 285) is possibly a stonecutter's model of a dedication in Latin to Diocletian and Maximian by one or more military units, but the papyrus itself may have been intended for display; cf. also LXVIII 4671 (v?). III 473 = W. Chr. 33 (138–60) preserves a decree by the archons, *demoi*, and Roman and Alexandrian residents of Naucratis(?) (see BL VIII 235) in honour of a gymnasiarch, which must also have existed in epigraphic form. I. Prose 52.31–2 (Busiris; 22/3) stipulates that a copy of the honorific decree be given to the honoree with the subscription of 'as many people as possible'.

That **5202** is a copy rather than a draft can be inferred from the visual copying errors in 2–3 (*περιόδου(ε)πν*, I. *περιόδου(ε)πν*), 4 (*ἐν Ἀργε(α) δειπίδα*), and probably 26–7 *εἰσρο[ε]λλ[α] κα(α)*; see 2–3 n. (end). The scribe uses a line filler at the end of 4, abbreviates a word by one letter at the end of 6, and doubles the width of nu at the end of 8; these features suggest that the copyist was attempting to maintain the line divisions of the original inscription. We can only imagine why a copy of this stone, which was presumably set up solely in Apion's *πατρις* (Alexandria or, less likely, Ptolemais), ended up in Oxyrhynchus, since there is no contextual information to guide us. The hand of the papyrus can be placed securely in the middle or second half of the first century; cf. e.g. PSI X 1176 (mid first century, prior to 59/60; Tav. III) = *Scrivere libri* no. 9, and P. Warr. 8 (86; Plate II, partially reproduced in P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (1994) 117). The copy therefore must have been made not too long after the publication of the inscription. It is worth mentioning that Apion's scholarly work on Alcaeus and Simonides was known in Oxyrhynchus, in the case of the former poet as early as the first century; see the marginalia of XXI 2295 = *CLGP* I 1.1 Alcaeus 7 = McNamee, *Annotations* no. 63 (first century), XXII 2327 = McNamee, *Annotations* no. 1459.1 (second century), LIX 3965 = McNamee, *Annotations* no. 1459.11 (second century).

Abbreviations for epigraphic corpora generally follow *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (but note I. Olympia = W. Dittenberger, K. Purgold (edd.), *Die Inschriften von Olympia* (1896)).

Απ[ι]ωνα Ποε[κ]ειδονίο]ν Φιλοπατόρειον γραμμα-  
 τ[ι]κ[ή]ν[ν] καὶ φ[ι]λ[ο]σοφ[ο]ν . . . . .] καὶ πνευματικῶν περιε-  
 νεύειν πρώτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τρις καθολόγους  
 τῆν ἐν Ἀρχαῖς ἀσπίδα καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις —  
 5 εστραμωθε[ν]τα τρ[ι]αζήλια καὶ ἐπὶ Σεβαστῶν  
 παραστ[η]νόμενον ἀγῶνα καὶ ἀλλ[ο]ισιν πολλοῦ λαβόντα  
 στεφάνου[σ] κ[αὶ] πρώτων ποιητῶν εἰσελάσαντα  
 ἐπὶ λευκῷ ἄρματι τεθρίππων ἐτέλειεν  
 ἢ πατρὸς εὐτρεχεῖ τῇ ἐν πρυτανείῳ καὶ χρονώ  
 10 [ . . . ] . . . φ[ι]λ[ο]σοφ[ο]ν καὶ χρονοτῶ τῆς περιόδου [ε]στεφάνου  
 [ ε.10 ] . . . φ. . . ἰων τῶν Μουσῶν στεφάνου[ι]  
 [ ε.10 ] . . . . . καὶ πορφύρ[η] . . . . . χρυσε[ῖ]  
 [ ε.10 ] . . . ἔπι . . . ἦθ . . . καὶ ἀνακηρυξ[ί]  
 [ ε.10 ] . . . ἔρος καὶ ἀριστ[ο]ν . . . ἔξκ. καὶ αν[τ]  
 15 [ ε.13 ] . . . . . τῶ σταδίω τοῦ  
 [ ε.15 ] . . . . . ἴων . . . ρα . . .  
 [ ε.16 ] . . . γκα . . . κα[ὶ] . . . . .  
 [ ε.11 ] κ[αὶ] ἀνδράντι ἐν . . . ἔ. . . . .  
 [ ε.12 ] . . . νιον Μητροδίου αν . . . . .  
 20 [ ε.9 ] ἐν τῷ γυμν[α]σίῳ καὶ . . . . .  
 [ ε.12 ] . . . ρε . . . κα[ὶ] . . . ἠ . . . . .  
 . . . . . δ . . . ἀνδράντι καὶ ἐκ[τ] ἄστ[ρ]  
 δε[κ]α[τ]ή . . . . . ἐν . . . . . οἱ περὶ τῶν  
 Διόνυσ[ω]ν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θε[ο]ῖς τεχνεῖται  
 25 ἀνδράντι καὶ ἀποδέειω ἐν τῷ Δ[ι]όνυσ[ω]ν  
 ἐν Πάμ[η]τῳ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκ[ο]νομίας εἰσορ[η]σί-  
 κ[αὶ] (καὶ) οἱ τοῦ[των] ἐπι[σ]τάται ἀνδράντι καὶ ἀ[τ]ρε[ί]-  
 δέω περὶ χρονοσ[ω]π . . . . . πα . . . . .  
 . . . εἰται τῆ . . . ἡς . . . . . ἐπι . . . ἠ . . .  
 30 μένων Ἀπλιων ἀνδράντων ἐν Ἀκτιῶν καὶ  
 ἐν Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ ἐν Πυθίῳ καὶ ἐν Τ[ε]θρῶν κ[αὶ]  
 ἐν Νεμέῳ, καὶ Συρακούσαις ἐνδράντι δημοσ[ω]ν  
 κ[αὶ] ἐτέρων ἀνδράντων, ἐν κυνήγῳ καὶ κατ' ἄν[θ]  
 ἔρος ἐποίησεν ὁ δῆμος, καὶ ἀσπίδος περιούρ[ω]  
 35 καὶ στεφάνου χρονοτῶν περὶ τῶν χρονοῦ, [καὶ]  
 τὸ Μουσείον διόν εἰς οἰκητικῶν ἔδωκεν[αν]το.

|   |                         |     |               |      |           |    |            |
|---|-------------------------|-----|---------------|------|-----------|----|------------|
| 1 | first μ of γραμματ[ο]ν? | 2-3 | l. περιουσιων | 6    | λαβον'    | 8  | l. ετιντων |
| 9 | l. cesfcs               | 24  | l. χρυσειου   | 26-7 | l. λευκου | 27 | l. δεστ-   |
|   |                         |     |               |      |           | 31 | l. Πυθι    |

Apion, son of Pseudonius, of the Philopatorian deme, grammarian and . . . , who was the first of men to be twice victor in verse in the Circus (*perisodis*), and thrice won the shield in Argos, and was crowned for a tragedy in Syracuse and upon going to the august contest, and took many other crowns, and was the first of poets to have entered in triumphal procession in a and forty-four-horse chariot—him his native city honoured with public maintenance in the prytaneum and a golden crown(?) and a gilded crown of the Circus (*perisodis*) . . . with a crown of the Muses . . . purple . . . golden . . . announce . . . best . . . in the stadium . . . and with a statue in . . . Menodorus . . . in the gymnasium . . . with a statue and a portrait tondo . . . the artists devoted to Dionysus and the other gods (honoured him) with a statue and a portrait tondo in the Dionysium; in Rome the sacred victors from the inhabited world and their trainers(?) (honoured him) with a statue and a gold-plated portrait tondo . . . statues of Apion . . . ed in Actium, Olympia, Pytho, the Isthmus, and Nemea; the Syracusians (honoured him) with a public statue and another statue which the people made through individual contributions, and with a gold-plated shield, and with a golden crown (worth) fifty gold pieces, and they presented him with the whole Museum to reside in.'

1 Απ[ι]ωνα. The reading is confirmed by 30 Μιλιωκος. On Apion, see generally A. G. Spetling, *Apion der Grammatiker und sein Verhältnis zum Judentum* (1886); A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* iv (1893) 356-71; L. Cohn, *REI* (1894) 2803-6; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (175 B.C.-A.D. 132) vol. iii.1, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (1986) 504-7; P. W. van der Horst in id., *Jewish in the Time of Simeon: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity* (2002) 207-21; J. Dillery, 'Putting Him Back Together Again: Apion, Historian, Apion *grammatikos*', *CP* 98 (2003) 393-397; R. Jones, 'The Figure of Apion in Josephus' *Contra Apionem*', *JST* 26 (2005) 278-315; J. M. Bremser, 'Foolish Egyptians: Apion and Anoubion in the Pseudo-Clementines', in A. Hilhorst, G. H. van Kooten (edd.), *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuis* (2005) 311-99, esp. 317-27; J. M. G. Barclay, *Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary*, x: *Against Apion* (2006) 170-71 n. 7; C. Damon, 'The Mind of an Ass and the Impudence of a Dog': a Scholar Gone Bad', in L. Shuiter, R. M. Rosen (edd.), *Kakos: Badness and Anti-Value in Classical Antiquity* (2008) 335-64. These works are cited below by the author's surname only.

On Apion's Homeric scholarship, see the bibliography assembled by E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (2007) 25-6. Most of the non-Homeric fragments are collected in *FGHSt* 616. Besides the Homeric lexicon and the *Asyribia* in five books, Apion was also the author of works 'On the luxuriousness of Apicius' (περὶ τῆς Ἀπικίου τρυφῆς, 'On the Latin language' (περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς διαλέκτου), 'On the mage' (περὶ μάγου), 'On letters' (περὶ στοιχείων), and of commentaries on Alcaeus, Simonides, and possibly Aristophanes (see introd. and cf. *Σ. Απ. Παρ* 778). It is unclear whether some of the accounts of natural wonders that served as a source to Pliny the Elder (cf. *FGHSt* 616 T 16) belonged to a separate work(s) or to the *Asyribia*. The *letropia kar'* ἄθος ascribed to him by the *Suda* (s 3215) is perhaps due to confusion with the ethnographically structured history of Appian; cf. von Gutschmid 368. In *ZPE* 186 (2013) 114-18, I suggest that the name of Apion probably lurks behind 'Hermapiion' in Ammianus Marcellinus 17.4.17, whom the historian cites as a source for the Greek translation of the hieroglyphic text on the obelisk in the *Circus Maximus* (brought by Augustus to Rome in 10 BC).

Apion's long career coincided with the reigns of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius; he was probably born in the last decades of the first century BC and died around the middle of the first century AD. His *Suda* entry, which contains a number of problematic statements, says that he taught at Rome under Tiberius and Claudius and was 'the successor of Theon the grammarian' in Alexandria,

a scholar active in the Augustan period. His work was well known in the first two centuries to judge from the references to him by various Greek and Roman authors (P<sup>OrHist</sup> 616 T); Thibaut dubbed him *symbolon mundi* (Plin. *NH* pr. 25) and Gellius attests that *etiam libri non invidioses* (5.14.2). Both in his account of Homeric etymologies and in writing about the *mirabilia* of Egypt, he seems to have had a penchant for provocatively ingenious and eccentric explanations, although this impression is no doubt biased by the selection of the authors quoting him. His self-importance and self-advertisement were notorious (Plin. *NH* pr. 25, Jos. *Ap.* 2.135, Gell. 5.14.3), but he was also admired for his erudition and eloquence (Tatian. *ad Graecos* 38, Gell. 5.14.1, 6.8.4, Afric. *Chronographiae* F34.80 Wallraf). Following Josephus' forceful attacks, Apion has traditionally been presented as one of the most virulent anti-Jewish writers of the ancient world; but there has been a revisionist tendency of late to emphasize Josephus' rhetorical strategies and partialities and to downplay the centrality of Jews to Apion's work; see E. S. Gruen, 'Greeks and Jews: Mutual Misperceptions in Josephus' *Contra Apionem*,' in C. Bakhos (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context* (2004) 31–51, and the works of Barclay and Jones cited above and below, 88.

[Πα[ε]δωνίω]. The father's name is given by Iulius Africanus, *Chronographiae* F34.80 Wallraf. As has long been recognized (e.g. Sperling v–vi), the *Suda*'s report that Apion's father was named Παιερωνίης is due to confusion with his own honorific title (on which see below, 2–3 n.).

Φιλοπάρσιος. The demotic presumably honours Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–203 BC), less plausibly Berenice III Philopator (81–80 BC), Cleopatra VII Philopator (51–30 BC), or her brother Ptolemy XIII Theos Philopator (51–47 BC); from Alexandria, compare Φιλοπάρσιος. This demotic has hitherto occurred complete only in SB VIII 10181.3–4 = SEG XX 699 (35), an inscription recording the rebuilding of an unspecified edifice by a certain Οὐρησίον Ἀρεταίου Φιλοπάρσιος. The stone was acquired on the antiquities market and is of unknown provenance, but has been presumed to come from Alexandria by its first editor, J. Schwartz, *RA* (1960) 189–90, followed by P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972) 146, II 124 n. 75. It cannot be *prima facie* excluded, however, that both inscription and demotic relate to one of the other two Greek cities of Egypt, viz. Naucratis or Ptolemais; see further below. The same demotic probably also occurs in P. Flor. I 24.90 (Afr.; mid ic; see BL III 55) [ε?] ] 105 καὶ Φιλοπάρσιος, preceded no doubt by a tribal name (see the note on loc. and cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II 124 n. 75, *Wb* III Absch. 16 n. 2), but the origin of its bearer is unknown; he is assumed to be Alexandrian by C. E. Visser, *Götter und Rituale im ptolemäischen Alexandria* (1998) 108, 128, but without any justification. Finally in a Ptolemaic inscription from Naucratis, OGIS 120 = I. Delia I 751 no. 15 (181–148 BC?), the city honours a priest of Athena named Φιλοπάρσιος Δωριανός φιλώ[?] (2). Dittenberger took the last word to be a demotic and restored Φιλοπάρσιος, which is a well-known deme of Alexandria, but also raised the possibility of restoring Φιλοπάρσιος (then unknown) in his note ad loc.; cf. also P. Jouquet, *La Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (1911) 126–7, and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II 124 n. 75. For the sake of completeness, I note that Schubart reported a demotic Φιλαργγος ('Lesung fast sicher') in his description of BGU IV 1178 (Alex.; 90–80–14 AD), which Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II 124 n. 73, speculated could be a corruption of Φιλοπάρσιος. The reading, however, has been questioned on the basis of a photograph by D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (1991) 62 = BL X. 20, who believes only φιλώ to be secure ('and it is by no means certain that this was a demotic rather than a name').

In a polemical passage criticizing Apion for claiming that Jews were Egyptians by descent, Josephus counters that Apion lied about his own origin and was in fact himself an Egyptian born ἐν Ὀύαις τῆς Αἰγύπτου (Ap. 2.29) and ἐν τῷ βασιλευμένῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου (Ap. 2.41) who only subsequently obtained Alexandrian citizenship; this is a recurrent theme in Josephus' denunciation of Apion: cf. Ap. 2.28, 30, 32, 34, 49, 65–7, 69–70, 81, 85, 122, 125–6, 128–9, 132–3, 135, 137–44. The *Suda* (s 215) says that he was Αἰγύπτιος, κατὰ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Κρή; the latter origin is surely figurative and due to the 'tall tales' in the *Aegyptiaca*, perhaps imputed to him by one of his detractors and misunderstood by the

chronicler Heliconius in late antiquity or the compiler of the *Suda*; cf. von Gutschmid 337 and Damon 347–55. An Egyptian origin is also assigned to Apion by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.21.101.3 ἄνε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ γένος), probably on the basis of Josephus; cf. also Plin. *NH* 30.99: Apion's explanation for the Egyptian cult of scarabs is *ad excoasum gentis suae rurs*.

Other writers refer to Apion simply as an Alexandrian (Athen. 1.29 δ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς; Hieron. *De vic. illust.* 13 *grammaticum Alexandrinum*; Pa-Clem. *Homil.* 4.6.2 ἄνθρωπος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, in contrast to Anubion who is explicitly said to be Αἰγύπτιος in 14.11.2) or more vaguely as a Greek (Gell. 7.8.1 *Graecus homo*). In his own writings, Apion certainly did not present himself as an Egyptian (cf. e.g. *FORHist* 616 F 1 = Jos. *Ap.* 2.10 ὁς ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων) and even by Josephus' admission writes from an unambiguous Hellenic point of view; cf. e.g. Jos. *Ap.* 2.30 οὐκ (sc. ὁ Ἰσραὴλ) μιστοὶ καὶ βούληται λοιδόρει τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καλεῖ, 135 (showing that Apion 'identified himself with the Greek intellectual tradition', Barclay ad loc., n. 491), 137 (Apion is said to have mocked the Jewish practice of circumcision, which was also an Egyptian one).

Josephus' claims concerning Apion's origins have been almost unanimously accepted by modern scholars, despite the rhetorical context, the vague ἐν Ὀύαις (which of Egypt's many oases?), Josephus' silence in *AJ* 18.257 (where Apion is subsumed under the Greek Alexandrian camp without further comment), and the institutional obstacles barring 'Egyptians' from Alexandrian citizenship; on the last point, cf. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship* 55–6, citing as examples only Apion and the younger Pliny's masseur Harpocras, who required special imperial intervention (see PIn. *Ep.* 10.5–7, 10 with Delia 41–5). An exception was H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der makabäischen Erhebung* (1895) 172–6 ('War Apion Ägypter?'), who maintained that Apion was in fact an Alexandrian by birth and Josephus' claims fallacious and part of the character assassination of his target. His inadequate arguments were criticized and modified by I. L'Abry, *Apion: état-il Alexandrin?*, *REJ* 41 (1900) 188–93 (to which Barclay 184–5, n. 104, is sympathetic), who proposed that Apion, though indeed not a native Alexandrian, was nevertheless of 'proper' Greek origin (without defining too clearly what he meant by this) and was later granted Alexandrian citizenship. Josephus, then, taking his cue from Apion's theophoric name based on the sacred Apis bull (a 'nom grec d'Égypte'), his scholarly interest in things Egyptian, and his non-Alexandrian origin, went a step further by branding him an 'Egyptian' from the remotest corner of the country. On Josephus' rhetorical strategy of mounting a sustained attack on Apion's alleged Egyptian ethnicity for the purpose of discrediting his *ethos*, see J. M. G. Barclay, 'Josephus v. Apion: Analysis of an Argument', in S. Mason (ed.), *Understanding Josephus* (1998) 202–3, and Jones 291–302; cf. more generally J. M. G. Barclay, 'The Politics of Contempt: Judeans and Egyptians in Josephus' *Against Apion*,' in id. (ed.), *Negotiating Diaspora* (2004) 109–27.

Since Apion was, or became at some point, an Alexandrian, it would be reasonable to infer that the city honouring him in 5202 is Alexandria and that Φιλοπάρσιος is a demotic of this city, as Schwartz and Fraser assumed in the case of SEG XX 699. If one accepts Josephus' claim that Apion was originally an Egyptian, in the juridical sense of a peregrine from the Egyptian *chora* excluding Alexandria, Naucratis, and Ptolemais, the extraordinary grant of Alexandrian citizenship could be ascribed to his extraordinary talents and successes. Dr Sofie Remijnen points out that the number of athletes from Alexandria in the Olympic victory lists is disproportionately large, and one might therefore need to hypothesize that some of these victors were drawn from the *chora* because of their abilities and granted Alexandrian citizenship (see pp. 193–4). It also appears that the Hellenic elites of the Egyptian *metropolis* were capable of obtaining Alexandrian citizenship under certain circumstances, although 'it is often very difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether families with Alexandrian citizenship and offices and with large estates in a nome were in origin Alexandrians who were drawn to the *metropolis* by their estates or metropolitae who had acquired Alexandrian citizenship' (A. K. Bowman, D. Rathbone, *JRS* 89 (1999) 116, 127, n. 107; cf. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship* 32, 36). There are very few clear instances of Alexandrians of metropolitan origin from the first century, but in I. Portes 32 (first





times but the rest of the *peribolos* only twice. For other poets who were *perioidontai*, cf. F. Delphes III.1.89 (n), I. Eph. V 1149.5, 10 (n/ni/n), IG XII 1 117 (Melois; undated).

Apion is dubbed *pleistoniōnēs* by several authors: Plin. *NH* 1.96c, 37.75; Gell. 5.14.1, 7.8.1; Clem. *Al. Strom.* 1.2.101.3; Ps.-Clement. *Homil.* 4.6.2; Ach. *Tat. Hist. Anat.* 1 p. 30.14 Maass; cf. *Suda* s. 3215. He himself advertised the sobriquet in a graffiti found on the Colossus of Memnon, I. Col. Memnon 71: *Ἀπίων πλειστονίης θύονα τρίς*. The title means 'winner in many contests' (cf. e.g. Pap. Agon. index D s.v.), but it has been a puzzle up to now how and why a grammarian acquired such an epithet. Against the usual understanding of the word and the evidence of the graffiti, H. Jacobson, *AJP* 98 (1977) 413–15, argued that the adjective derived from *velōicos* was a pejorative pun on *pleistoniōnēs* meaning 'supremely quarrelsome', presumably coined by one of Apion's detractors for his alleged polemical style; he has recently been followed by Damon 341 and Barclay ad *Jos. Ap.* 2.2 n. 7; *omnia*, L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius* (2003) 69, Bremmer 319–20, both of whom also show that there are no legitimate grounds for doubting the identification of Apion in I. Col. Memnon 71 with the famous scholar. 5202 confirms that *pleistoniōnēs* has its usual sense and reveals its origin in Apion's numerous victories in poetry contests. Although the title appears to denote a rank inferior to that of *perioidontēs* among athletes (see Gouvy, *Griekes atleten* 127–9), poets and musicians can bear both epithets concurrently; cf. IG XII 4.2 945.1 (41–54), I. Pessinus 19.6–7 (150–200 or later), and I. Eph. V 1149.9–10 (ii/iii), the first two of a citharode, the third of a poet.

*perioidontēs* (I. *perioidontēs*). The visual confusion of *ε* and *ο* shows that the text is a copy rather than an autograph draft; cf. also the ditigraphy in 4 *Ἀργεί(α) ἀσπίδα* and the haplography in 26–7 *ἐλεργ(ε)ῖλαι* (*καί*). Assuming 5202 is a direct copy of the inscription rather than a secondary copy via an intermediate manuscript, the implication would be that the stone was inscribed in lunate rather than square letters; cf. M. Guarducci, *Epigraphia graeca* 1 (1957) 377.

3 *πρώτος ἀνδράνων*. When Josephus *Ap.* 2.23 states that Apion was born in the 'Oasis', he adds *πρώτου Ἀβυνηταίου πρώτος ἄνδρ, ὡς ἐν ἑσθίω*. What exactly Josephus means by 'first of all Egyptians' is unclear, notes Jones 302 n. 85; cf. also Barclay ad *Jos.* Apion (who may well have seen this inscription when he visited Alexandria) perhaps parodying the honorific language routinely applied to victors like Apion. On the common claim of being *πρώτος* by athletes of the Imperial period, see Gouvy, *Griekes atleten* 102–10.

3–4 *καί τρίς καφέλινα τῆν ἐν Ἀργεί(α) ἀσπίδα*. For *καθαίρω* in the sense of 'win as a prize', see I. SJ s.v. iv. A bronze shield was the traditional prize at the Heraea in Argos, so that the festival became commonly referred to as *ἡ εἰς Ἀργονος ἀσπίς* in inscriptions of the Imperial period from the second half of the first century ad onward. On the festival and its epigraphic attestations, see P. Amandry, *BCH* Suppl. 6 (1980) 211–33, especially 233 n. 54 for the artistic contests held there in the Imperial period; cf. also id., *BCH* 107 (1983) 627–34, and L. Moretti, *AMGR* 16 (1991) 179–89. The phrase *ἡ ἐν Ἀργεί ἀσπίς* does not appear to have exact parallels. *AMGR*, *BCH* Suppl. 6 (1980) 231 n. 46, cites IAG 79.20–21 (Rome; c. 200) *τῆν ἀσπίδα Ἦρας εἰν Ἰπρίω*, among the rare variant appellations of the games, but in the republication of the inscription in IGUR I 240 Moretti does not adopt this reconstruction and states ad loc. that the 'vehementer . . . et spatio et litterarum vestigijs repugnat'. From the third century 80 to about the middle of the first century ad, the festival was known as *τὰ Ἦραια τὰ ἐν Ἀργεί*. The phrase here stands somewhat halfway between the older and later expressions, and it appears to be the earliest identification of the games by their emblematic prize in a prize inscription.

4–5 *καὶ ἐν Συρακοσίωνος τρεφόμενος* [τῶ] [τῶ] [τῶ] [τῶ]. Syracuse was home to one of the largest theatres in the Greek world, with a diameter of 138 m, built (or rebuilt) by Hieron II between 238 and 215 BC; see C. Anti, L. Polacco, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa I–II* (1981, 1990); R. J. A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire* (1990) 60–63; L. Todisco, *Teatro e spettacolo in Magna Grecia e in Sicilia* (2002) 184–8; G. Tosi, *Gli edifici per spettacolo nell'Italia romana* (2003) 618–21. It would have been a natural venue for a dramatic contest, but evidence for one in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods has been

scarce. A very fragmentary and undated inscription found in the Neapolis of Syracuse appears to record victors at a musical festival, including a [δωδ]έκαλοσ, a [κατα]κράτ(ε)?, and more doubtfully a [εὐθα]ρ[ε] [τῶ] [τῶ] (SEG XLIX 1330). The *ludi aetici* celebrated by Gaius in Syracuse in the summer of 38 (Suet. *Cal. 20* *adulsi et peregre spectacula*, in *Sicilia Syracusis aetici ludos*; on the date see D. H. Hurley, D. Wardle, or G. Guastella ad loc.) probably had a strong or even exclusive dramatic component if they were analogous to the Athenian *δωδεκάλοσ τὰ ἐν ἄερε*; see Anti and Polacco, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa I* 28, 43, 204, and cf. already Reich, *RE II* (1896) 1730. Since according to Seneca it was under Gaius' reign that Apion was fitted by Greek cities as a second Homer (see intro.), it is quite possible that he won his dramatic victory at the *ludi* put on by the emperor. The Sebasta in Naples referred to next (5–6) also took place in the summer of 38 during Gaius' reign.

For the association of Dionysiac artists and the Museum connected with the theatre of Syracuse, see below, 36 n. For the honours conferred on Apion by Syracuse, see 34–6.

5–6 *ἐνὶ Σεβαστῶν παρεγόμενος* [τῶ] [τῶ] [τῶ] [τῶ]. The traces at the beginning of 6 are slight and highly abraded, but they fit *παρεγόμενος* (suggested by Dr Henry) well enough. The expression *παρεγόμενος ἐνὶ τῶν ἀγῶνων* is amply paralleled in inscriptions, e.g. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1011.33 (105/105 BC), F. Delphes III.2 161.1–3 (27–317), I. Olympia 54.4–5 (early II), 436.3–4 (65). The reference must be to the penteteric and isolympic Sebasta in Naples, established in AD 2 in honour of Augustus; see E. Miranda, I. Napoli I pp. 91–2, and M. L. Galdelli, *L'Aspion Capitolinus* (1993) 28–37, both with further bibliography; cf. also E. Miranda De Martino, *Osobius S* (2007) 203–15. The designation of the contest as *δ Σεβαστῶν ἀγῶν* in the singular, however, does not appear to be paralleled.

7–8 *εἰς αἶθρᾶν πρώτων ἐκλεκτάτων ἐπὶ λαοῦ ἄματι θεοτότων*. A triumphal entrance in a *chaeta* into one's home city was a privilege of victors in the highest-ranking contests, hence their designation from the reign of Trajan onward as *ἀγῶνος ἐκλεκτάτων*; see Pap. Agon. 1.16 n., 10.14–15 n.; A. J. S. Spawforth in S. Walker, A. Cameron (edd.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (BICS 55; 1986) 193–4; W. Slater in P. Martzoukou, N. Papanastasiadis (edd.), *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis* (2012) 199–69. Apion's procession with white horses tallies with Suetonius' description of Nero's triumph after his agonistic tour of Greece in 66/7: *albii equi introitū diviecta parte maris, ut mos hieronymum est* (*Vit* 23.1). The expression in 5202 has a parallel in a passage of Plutarch *Pion* 9.9 describing a Roman military triumph: *ἀβράμβυξες δ' ἄν' ἀπ' αὐτῆς Οὐλαδρόσος ἐκλεκτοὺς θεοτότων πρώτων ἰστανον*.

10 [. . .] . . . *ω*: [εὐ]φάγ seems to fit the space and traces.

*χρυσῶν φ* τῶν *περιόβω* [ε]τῶνων. The adjective *χρυσῶν* is very rare, attested only in an epigram by Phalaecus, *App. Anth.* 117.1 = Gow–Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 2935 (see note ad loc.), where it qualifies a chiton; cf. also *ἀχρυσῶν* in I. Delos V 147 A 1.150 (155/154 BC), 1423 B ff. a ii.6 (after 156/155 BC). The articulation *χρυσῶ τῶ* would result in an unusual position of the article.

11 . . . *β*: the initial traces may correspond to *ο* or *τα*, ai, δi, λi.

*τῶν Μειζάνων τρεφόμενος* [1] = an unparalleled collocation.

12 *εὐφ* *ποφ* . . . . . *χρυσ*. Probably a form of *πορφύρα*, 'purple clothing', *χρυσ* [ further in the line suggests that a golden crown was mentioned alongside, a combination of accoutrements especially characteristic of *ἀγωνοθέται* and *ἐκλεκτάτοι*; see Pap. Agon. 3.38 n. and J. Rumscheid, *Krone und Krone* (2000) 42–3, to which add e.g. P. Petz, E. Schwertheim, *Hadrina und die diogenischen Künstler* (2006) 101. 39 *τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας τοὺς τρεφόμενος καὶ τῆν πορφύρα κίοντα*.

14 ] *ξος καὶ ἀμικ* [ . . . ]. These remains recall the expression *πλειστονίης παράδοξος* IG V 1.305, 553, 555, 688, but it was specific to *hoplitodromoi* in the Eleutheria at Plataea; see Gouvy, *Griekes atleten* 132–4. The title *παράδοξος*, which properly designates a victor in two disciplines or in two age categories at the same festival, begins to be attested in agonistic contexts only from the late first century onward (Gouvy 123–6). Other possible restorations include [εὐ]δ[ε]ξ[ε]ς, [εὐ]δ[ε]ξ[ε]ς, the nominative presumably referring to a person or body which honoured Apion (–ξος cannot be read).

18 ἀγ. ξ [L. The traces are compatible with e.g. ἀγ γῶ ξη(ε)φ. The space seems too cramped to accommodate ἐν Μελισ(ε)βριαι.

19–20 ] νων Μηροδώρας αν [L. The final trace is compatible with Α. If Μηροδώρας is not the patronymic of a person with a name ending in -ωνος, it might be part of a genitive absolute along the lines of Μηροδώρας ἀνάστατος (sc. τοῦ ἀνάστατος nel sim) ποιημάτων (Dr ποικίλων) ἐν τῷ γυμνῳ(ε)σίμ (I owe this suggestion to Dr John Ma); but in such expressions ἀνάστατος is usually accompanied by a definite article.

20 καί. [L. possibly read ἐξ [L.

22–3 ἀνάστα]τε καί ἀνα]στήθη[τε] restored on the analogy of 25; cf. 27–8. On the sense of ἀπεθείω as a round-shaped painted or relief-sculpted portrait (*imago theatri*), see A. Lukaszewicz, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 109–10, and M. Nowicka, *Archaeologia* 44 (1993) 123–4.

23–4 οἱ περὶ τῆ[ν] Διονύσιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους [θεοὺς] τεχνητῶ[ν] (I. τεχνητῶν). This titlature of the Dionysiac artists does not appear to have any exact parallels; cf. OGIS I 51 = I. Prose 6 (285–246 BC), a decree of the association of Dionysiac artists of Ptolemais honouring a man who πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐεβῶς καὶ δίκαια διακείμενος τυχάνει (6–7), for his εὐεβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τε Βασιλείᾳ Πτολεμαίων καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοῖς (18–19).

25 ἐν] τῷ Δ[ιονύσει]ον[τι]. The association of Dionysiac artists in Ptolemais is linked to a temple of Dionysus in OGIS I 50.12 = I. Prose 3 (269–246 BC) and OGIS I 51.25 = I. Prose 6 (285–246 BC), but it is uncertain whether we are dealing with the same association here; for the remote possibility that the city honouring Apion in 5202 is Ptolemais, see above, 1 n. In VI 908 = W. *Chz* 426 (199), one of the parties to the contract is styled Tiberius Claudius Didymus τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ τῆς ἑραίας οὐδοῦ ἱεροῦκου Ἀνελῶν (8–10); this Dionysium is assumed to have been situated in Oxyrhynchus (see n. ad loc.); cf. SB XXII 13333.8–10 = 1171 (146/7?) ἐπὶ ἀμφόδο Ἀρμῶν Θεοφίλου οἰκίαν ἐν τῷ καλομένῳ Διονύσει Τεχνητῶν.

25–7 ἐν Πύμῳ] ἐν] τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλευρητῆ]σαι (I. ἱεροῦκου) (καὶ) οἱ τῶν]των] ἐπ[ι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα [L. The σύνδοξος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱεροῦκου (καὶ τεχνητῶν) was an elite association of victors in the sacred games, but the extent to which its artistic and athletic 'chapters' were independent in the early Imperial period and their relationship with the regular associations of Dionysiac artists and athletes respectively are quite unclear; for a summary and further bibliography, see Ricciardetto, *APF* 38 (2012) 52–3. If the artistic and athletic sacred victors were organized into separate associations, the nature of Apion's achievements would suggest that it is the association of οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱεροῦκου τεχνητῶν which honours him here. The phrase καὶ οἱ τῶντων ἐλευθέρων, however, never occurs in connection with the Dionysiac sacred victors, but solely in the titlature of the association of worldwide athletic victors: IMT Kaikos (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org>) 890.1–3, 23–5, 46–8 (1), I. Kition 2047.1–3 (1/11), I. Knidos I 234.1, 7 (1/11). The word ἐλευθέρων in this context is usually understood to mean 'trainer' rather than 'champion, president'; see J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1974 no. 638, with references to further discussion. For such ἐλευθέρων in musical contests, one could point to P. Lond. VII 2017.27 = SB III 6597 (242/241 BC) ὅπως ἐν ἁμαρτῶν (a citharode) ἐπιμεληθεὶς καὶ τυχὼν ἐλευθέρων ἐκείθῳ (sic τοῖς) ἀγῶνας οὐδ' ἐ βασιλείᾳ προσιθῆεν, IG II\* 3112.8 (75/6–87/8) (in relation to a Διονυσιακὸς χορὸς).

H. W. Pleket, *ZPE* 10 (1973) 197–227, at 225–6, argues that the association of artistic sacred victors became established in Rome only under Hadrian (it certainly existed at least since the reign of Augustus; cf. Pap. Agon. 1.2); but if that is the association referred to here, 5202 would imply that it was based in Rome already around the mid first century, as cautiously suspected by J.-L. Ferrary in *Filletterismo e tradizionalismo a Roma nei primi due secoli dell'Impero* (1996) 183–210 at 202. It is attested again in Rome by I. Eph. Ia 22 (193–61), by which time it appears to have merged with the regular association of Dionysiac artists (cf. Pleket, loc. cit. 210–12): 17–18 τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ Τρώων νέμενος [τῶν] ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης τεχνητῶν, 24 οἱ ἐπὶ Τρώων τεχνητῶν, 68 ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἐν Τρώμας σύνδοξος, 73–7 (lines

printed only in the *ed. pr.*, *BCH* 9 (1883) 126–7) φήσμεθα τῆς ἑραίας Φωκαεῖας Ἀπωναίου(τῆς) θυμηλευτικῆς περιου]σιουτικῆς μεγάλῃ]σιν] ... ἐπὶ Τρώων συνέδοξο [τῶν ἀπὸ] τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀντροκράτορα Καίσαρα Τίτῳ Ἀδία]ν Ἀδρια]νὸν Ἀπωναίου(τῆς) ἰερο]κου(τῆς) καὶ ἄλλῃ]σιν] τεχνητῶν ἱεροῦκου(τῆς) ἐλευθέρων (καὶ). A haplography has occurred because there is no space at the end of 26 for ἐλευρῶν]σιν] καὶ. Alternatively, the scribe could have abbreviated the first word at line-end, i.e. written ἐλευρῶν]σιν] καὶ; cf. the abbreviation of λαβόντων] at the end of 6.

ἐλευρῶν]σιν] (καὶ). A haplography has occurred because there is no space at the end of 26 for ἐλευρῶν]σιν] καὶ. Alternatively, the scribe could have abbreviated the first word at line-end, i.e. written ἐλευρῶν]σιν] καὶ; cf. the abbreviation of λαβόντων] at the end of 6.

28–9 ] ἐπ[ι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα [L. possibly read ἐξ [L.

28–9 ] ἐπ[ι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα [L. possibly read ἐξ [L. The traces are compatible with e.g. ἀγ γῶ ξη(ε)φ. The space seems too cramped to accommodate ἐν Μελισ(ε)βριαι.

29–30 ἀπ[ι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα [L. possibly read ἐξ [L. The traces are compatible with e.g. ἀγ γῶ ξη(ε)φ. The space seems too cramped to accommodate ἐν Μελισ(ε)βριαι.

29–30 ἀπ[ι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα [L. possibly read ἐξ [L. The traces are compatible with e.g. ἀγ γῶ ξη(ε)φ. The space seems too cramped to accommodate ἐν Μελισ(ε)βριαι.

29–32 Assuming the restoration of ἀμφίροισ]των is correct (ἀνα[θημα]τῶν, ἀνα[θημα]τῶν would be too long for the space), these lines appear to list the agonistic venues in which status of Apion were erected. The statues cannot commemorate Apion's victories in these places as περιουδοξίαν, because (1) it is highly doubtful that the Actia were part of the περιουδοξία at this time, and (2) musical-poetic contests did not figure in the Olympic games; see above, 2–3 n. Apion, nevertheless, could have visited Actium and Olympia and been granted statues there purely honoris causa rather than for a victory; and it is possible that he performed in a non-competitive context, that is, in an *ephebeia*. Some statues of poets of the Imperial period are known in Olympia from their inscribed bases, e.g. I. Olympia 457 (n), 482 (233); both poets are said to have performed there, the first with an 'Olympic hymn' (cf. B. Bilitziš, *Actia givnic: fragmenti artistice od intelektualne nell'antica agonistica greca* (1970) 113). Alternatively, the statues at these five venues could have been voted as an honorific measure by Apion's native city or some other body; for some decrees proposing the erection of honorific statues at all four traditional 'Panhellenic' sites, see Amandry, *BCH* Suppl. 6 (1980) 248 n. 95.

30 ἐν Μελισ[ε]βριαι. It is notable that Actium is placed first in this list of agonistic venues. The originally minor games in honour of Apollo at Actium were refounded by Augustus in 27 BC to commemorate his decisive naval victory there four years earlier. The contests were held every four years in Nicopolis, a newly built city near Actium, and were elevated to the status of the Olympic games; see Caldelli, *L'Agon Capitulinus* 24–8, with further bibliography, to which add e.g. M. Lamer, *Stadion* 12/13 (1986/7) 27–38, and O. Pavlogiannis et al., *Nikephoros* 22 (2009) 79–102. The four sites in 31–2 are listed in their traditional order of prestige.

32–6 The placement of this section at the end of the document, after what seems to be the concluding climax of Apion's 'Panhellenic' honours in 29–32, and the short blank space preceding it suggest that it was a later addition to the inscription (so Prof. Parsons). For updates of this kind in honorific inscriptions, Dr Henry points to e.g. SEG LxV 1184.

32 ἀνδράντων δημοσί]σιν] καὶ. Estremo Oriente 89.9 = SEG XV 849 (Palmyra); 192 ἀνδράντων δημοσί]σιν]. Dr Ma suggests the alternative possibility of restoring δημοσί]σιν] sc. δαπάνη, 'at public expense' (LSJ) s.v. δημόσιος VI).

33–4 ὅτι ἐπι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα κατ' ἀ]π[ι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα ἐποίησαν δ' ὄθμω. In contrast to the preceding status, which was made at public expense, this second status was realized through individual contributions. κατ' ἀ]π[ι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα is Prof. Parsons's restoration; the two alphas framing ἄ]π[ι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα are virtually certain; δ and ρ are less so but are not contradicted by the few remaining traces at the beginning of 34.

35 ἀπ[ι]κ[α]τῆ]ρα τῶν χροῦσων. A frequent value of golden crowns in inscriptions from Hellenistic Cos, e.g. IG XII 4.1 139.67–8, 72 (306–301 BC), 167.20 (n BC), 168.13 (c.200–150 BC), 4.2 1178.6 (n BC); cf.

also SEG XXXII 1147.29 (Magnesia Mac.; 208/207 BC). One expects the preposition ἐν, but for its omission cf. I. Olbia 68.5 (III BC), F. Delphes III.3 214.22, 26 - Syll.<sup>3</sup> 443 (247/246 BC).

36 τὸ Μουσικῶν Δῶν εἰς ἀρχαίων ἑδωρικῶν[70]. To the best of my knowledge, there are no exact parallels for such an honour. The existence of a Museum near the theatre of Syracuse has already been surmised from IG XIV 13 (c. 180?), an honorific decree by the Syracusan association of Dionysiac artists deposited apparently ἐν τῷ Μουσικῶν (2-3). This inscription was found together with another honorific decree by the same association (IG XIV 12, 1 BC?) in the great theatre itself, so that the Museum must have been not too far from the latter; cf. also SEG XXXIV 974 = IGLP 106 (c. 100 BC), a similar decree attesting a 'priest of Apollo', the Muses, and Dionysus'. On these inscriptions, see further L. Moretti, *RFIC* 91 (1963) 38-45; G. Mangano, *SicGymn* 16 (1963) 51-64, at 57-61; B. Le Guen, *Les Associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique* (2001) i 319-26, ii 35-8. The building appears to have served as the shrine and headquarters of the association of Dionysiac artists of Syracuse. It is commonly presumed to have been situated in the terrace complex above the theatre, where a grotto-Nymphaeum was also located; see G. E. Rizzo, *Il teatro greco di Siracusa* (1923) 130-33; Antti and Polacco, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* i 199 with n. 54; Le Guen, *Les Associations de Technites dionysiaques* i 321, ii 77; on the archaeology of the terrace, see further Polacco, *Il teatro antico di Siracusa* ii 99-58.

According to the biographer Hermippus of the third century BC (*FGHHist* 1026 F 84 = fr. 94 Wehrli = *Vit. Eur.* 5 Schwartz), Dionysius I of Syracuse (r. 405-367 BC) purchased Euripides' cithara, tablets, and stylas from the tragedian's heirs and dedicated them in a shrine of the Muses (ἐν τῷ Μουσικῶν ἱερῷ). Hermippus' reliability has been doubted, but even if the story is apocryphal, it is unlikely that he invented the existence of such a shrine in the city. It is uncertain, however, whether it is to be identified with the Museum attested in IG XIV 13 and 5202; for an identification of the two, cf. e.g. P. Reichert-Südbeck, *Kulte von Korinth und Syrakus* (2000) 143-4.

## Unplaced fragments

| Fr. 1         | Fr. 2     | Fr. 3     | Fr. 4         |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| ] . i . [     | ] . θ [   | ] . φ . [ | ] . [         |
| ] ε ν [       | ] η χ ρ [ | ] . [     | ] τ ω . . . [ |
| stripped      | ] ε χ ρ [ | ] . [     | ] . η ν ε [   |
| ] θ [         | ] . . [   |           |               |
| • ] . η [     |           |           |               |
| Fr. 5         | Fr. 6     | Fr. 7     | Fr. 8         |
| ] ε ι . . . [ | ] φ . [   | ] . [     | ] . η . [     |
| ] τ ω [       | ] ω [     | ] . κ . [ | ] . ρ . [     |
| ] . . [       | ] . η [   |           |               |

A. BENAÏSSA

## 5203. LIST OF SONGS

31 4B.13/11(4-5)a

15 × 16.8 cm

Second century

On a used piece of papyrus, two columns of semi-cursive in a hand like that of P. Coll. Youtie I 27 (165). The writer makes extensive but inconsistent use of abbreviations, and there are no lection signs except an internal diaeresis (i 4). The earlier writing has not been thoroughly erased. Most of it is in a sloping cursive, apparently belonging to an account. The legible text includes ] Ἀντωνίω [ in semi-cursive on the left-hand side near the foot. The back is blank.

With the exception of a narrow strip on the left that extends further down, the papyrus survives only to a depth of about 9.6 cm. To judge by the arrangement of the text edited here, in particular the depths of the preserved lower margins, the papyrus probably had the same shape when 5203 was written. The main body of col. i stands on an alignment about 4.6 cm to the right of the left-hand edge, with line 1 projecting by about 0.6 cm. The column width is about 4.4 cm (5 cm if the projecting part of line 1 is included), and the space between the columns is about 2.4 cm wide. Col. ii extends as far as the right-hand edge of the papyrus. The writer appears to have taken into account only the length of the first line of the column in choosing this alignment. Lower down, the extensive use of abbreviations may suggest that he was struggling to fit the text into a column 3.4 cm wide. The upper margin is only about 0.7 cm high. Col. i has a preserved lower margin about 4.2 cm deep, while the figure for col. ii is about 2.1 cm; if the loss of the cross-fibres on the right-hand side at the foot occurred after the text of 5203 was written, the original figure may have been about 3.1 cm.

There is some evidence of horizontal and vertical folds. The lower right-hand corner of the sheet appears to have broken off along a horizontal fold at its upper edge (giving an approximately horizontal preserved edge for some distance) and along the edge of a sheet-join on its left. Of the apparent vertical folds, the most significant stands approximately 6.7 cm to the left of the right-hand edge. Symmetrical worm-holes on either side of this fold about 2.5 cm and 7.3 cm from the top will have been made at a time when the papyrus was folded vertically only along this line (and horizontally either not at all or only in such a way that the corresponding holes fell in the lower part of the papyrus, now lost). Since the text of 5203 does not run across any of these four holes, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the paired holes were present when 5203 was written. But the worm-holes that have resulted in losses to the text of 5203 do not occur in symmetrical pairs, indicating that the papyrus was not folded along the vertical line in question when they were formed.

Col. i gives a list of songs of Epagathus the χορωδῆς from six plays, each of which is given a line to itself. There are forty songs in total, a figure given in the first

line and repeated (following a long paragraphus) in the concluding summary in the last line. Col. ii proceeds to list in a more summary fashion some songs of others, including in one case a χοροαὐλῆς (8) and in two cases a τραγουδῆς (4, 6). Each entry consists of a one-line description concluding with a numeral, which may be placed either on the same line or by itself on the next line where the description proper takes up a whole line. The entries are separated by long paragraphi. The first (1-2) is clearly written, though damaged, but the writing in the remainder of the column shows signs of haste, and much is illegible, in particular where corrections have apparently been made over the text to be corrected. It is possible that col. ii, or at least its lower part (from line 3), was an unplanned later addition to the list of Epagathus' songs in col. i.

The function of the list is unclear (cf. West, *Ancient Greek Music* 377). It may have been the programme of a performance given on a particular occasion, in which Epagathus was the main attraction. Alternatively, it may be a list of the repertory offered for performance by Epagathus and others, perhaps associates of his.

This text was first edited by Dr W. E. H. Cockle in *Pap. Cong. XIV* (1975) 59-65 with pl. XV; R. Kannicht included the papyrus in *IFGF* v.2 (1103-4) as DID B 15a, with brief notes. I am grateful to Prof. D'Alessio and Dr Prauscello for sharing some material on *choraulai*.

## Col. i

|                          |  |              |          |
|--------------------------|--|--------------|----------|
|                          | $\phi\delta(\alpha\iota)$ Ἐπαγάθου τοῦ χορ(αὐ)λλ(ου) μ<br>δραμάτων ̄<br>Ὑψιπύλης ̄<br>Δηδάμει(α)ς<br>5 Ἀνδρογυ( )<br>Λύτ(ρων) Ἐκτορο(ς)<br>Μηδείης<br>Ἀντιόπης<br>/ ἐαυτοῦ $\phi\delta\alpha\iota$ μ |              |          |
| 1 $\delta$<br>8 ἀντιόπης | 4 $\delta$<br>9 ἐαντιόπης  | 5 ἀνδρογυ    | 6 Ἰεκερῶ |
|                          |  | 7 1. Μηδείας |          |

## Col. ii

|  |   |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|
|  | $\phi\delta\alpha\iota$ . [ ] . ων<br>̄<br>$\phi\delta\alpha\iota$ Κανώπου ̄<br>$\phi\delta\alpha\iota$ δρ( ) $\phi\delta(\alpha\iota)$ τοῦ τρα(γυ)θ(ου)<br>5<br>̄<br>. . . . . $\phi\delta(\alpha\iota)$ τοῦ τρα(γυ)θ(ου)<br>̄<br>. . υλ( ) τοῦ χοροαὐλ(ου) ̄<br>. . θ( ) . . . [ ] ων $\phi\delta\alpha\iota$<br>10<br>̄<br>4 δρᾶττουρᾶ 6 ψττουρᾶ 8 . . . ᾶ χοροῦ 9 . . . θᾶ written on δ |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|

(Col. ii) 'Songs of Epagathus the *choraulas*, 40, from 6 dramas: from *Hypsipyle*, 6; from *Didaméis*; from *Andragyus* (?); from *Ransoming of Hector*; from *Medea*; from *Antiope*; total, 40 songs of his own.'

## Col. i

1  $\phi\delta(\alpha\iota)$ . The resolution is confirmed by i 9, ii 1, 3, 4, 9 (?), where the word is given in full. The same abbreviated form is found at ii 4 and apparently ii 6.

Ἐπαγάθου: unknown. There is no reason to connect him with the Claudius Epagathus named as an envoy in a letter of the emperor Claudius to the association of Artists of Dionysus (Pap. Aegon. 1.2).

χορ(αὐ)λλ(ου). The resolution is confirmed by ii 8, where a fuller version appears. The ρ has a long horizontal stroke extending to the right at the level of the base of the loop (cf. the supralinear ρ at 6), but this is probably to be considered as part of the letter rather than as an additional stroke indicating abbreviation: the letter has a similar though less extended connecting-stroke in mid-row at 2 and 5.

χοροαὐλῆς is used of an aulete playing together with a chorus already in the first century BC (I. Priene 113.80 of c.80 BC). The term is applied to one Musaeus in E. Delphes III.3 129.3 (20-46). Later epigraphic examples attest to the inclusion of contests for χοροαὐλαί at festivals. The first χοροαὐλῆς known to have been a sacred victor is apparently Ti. Claudius Glaphyros, whose victories at the Sebasta and Actia are mentioned in GH VI 10120 (possibly Augustan: see J.-Y. Strasser, *BCH* 126 (2002) 131). The evidence continues into the third century. For a study of the use of the term, see Strasser, *BCH* 126 (2002) 97-149, esp. 128-34; for the introduction of contests for χοροαὐλαί in Boeotian festivals, A. Maniatis, *Agoni poetico-musicali nella Grecia antica* i (2009) 75, 332.

The term does not appear elsewhere in the papyri. SB XIV 1193: (Karanis, 11/III) gives rules for a contest among ἀλλήλαι κώλυοι, but this term may well have a more limited application, though modern scholars (including Strasser) often consider χοροαὐλῆς and ἀλλήτης κώλυοις to be interchangeable. Aulo-players are commonly found in Egyptian documents: see e.g. LX XIV 5014 4-5, 5015 5, O. Thim. I 86.11; F. Perpillou-Thomas, *ZPE* 108 (1995) 226.

5203 is the only piece of direct evidence for the music performed by χοροαὐλαί. It is not clear whether the compositions listed here were sung by a chorus, or soloists, or both: cf. West, *Ancient Greek Music* 377.

3 Ὑμῶδες. A title of plays by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III p. 350), Euripides (fr. 759–70), and Cleonetus (*TrGF* 84 T 4). Since the list also includes *Melica* and *Antipyr* (7–8), it is reasonable to suppose that Euripides' play is meant here; cf. West, *Hellinica* iii 196.

4 *Αἰθιαμεταίε*. Daidameia appears in two papyrus fragments of tragedy set to music (*DMGM* 39.53).

5 *Ἀνδρογῶν* (?). Possibly *Ἀνδρογῶν(ου)* or *Ἀνδρόγῶν(ου)*, with reference to Menander's *Ἀνδρόγῶνος ἢ Ἑρμῆς* (fr. 50 ff.) or Eupolis' *Ἀερέπτενοι ἢ Ἀνδρόγῶνοι* (fr. 35 ff.). But a comic title seems out of place in a list otherwise limited to titles of mythological tragedies; nor do we have any other good evidence for musical settings of extracts from comedy (S. Nervegia, *Menander in Antiquity* (2013) 85–4). West, *Ancient Greek Music* 377, appends a question mark to the entry. Possibly the writer's attention wandered and we should restore *Ἀνδρομάχης* or *Ἀνδρομέδαι*. Both are Euripidean titles (cf. 3 n.). For other plays entitled *Andromache*, see *TrGF* V.1. p. 257. Other plays entitled *Andromache* are attested for Sophocles (*TrGF* IV pp. 155–6) and Antiphon (*TrGF* 55 F 1); cf. Trag. adesp. 644.

The  $\omega$  is clumsily written, with the left-hand arc hanging from the bar that forms the base of the loop of  $\rho$  (cf.  $\alpha$   $\rho$ ) while the straight right-hand side extends higher in the line, but the reading is not in doubt.

6 *Ἀντ(ρ)ων Ἐκτορο*( $\sigma$ ). A title of plays by Aeschylus (*TrGF* III p. 363 *Φρόγες ἢ Ἐκτορος Ἀντρα*) and Dionysius (*TrGF* 76 T 3 and fr. 2a–b (*TrGF* pp. 354–5)).

7 *Μηδείας*, i. *Μηδείας*. For the error, cf. *Isophr* in P. Amh. II 97.2 (81) and P. Coll. Youtie II 73.2 (89); Gignac, *Grammar* ii 6. Such forms are occasionally found in tragic fragments: cf. Trag. adesp. 701.5 *Κεσθῆν* with note. For plays so entitled, besides that of Euripides (cf. 3 n.), see *TrGF* II p. 336 (tragedy), *PCG* IV p. 57 (comedy). Part of Carcinus' *Melica* is given a musical setting in a papyrus of the second century (West, *Hellinica* ii 334–50).

8 *Ἀντίπυρ*. A title of plays by Euripides (fr. 179 ff.) and Eubulus (*PCG* V p. 194). Presumably the first is meant; cf. 3 n.

9 | introduces a total as regularly.

## Col. ii

1 | . . .  $\omega$ v. For the genitive plural with  $\phi\delta\alpha\lambda$ , cf.  $\rho$  (?). In place of  $\omega$ , the ed. pr. gives  $\phi\omega$ , but alpha would be anomalous, with its apex too far to the right and its tail on the line, rather than raised, as elsewhere. On the other hand,  $\phi$  would be wider than elsewhere, with surplus ink in the middle, and it would not be easy to explain the loop joined to its left-hand side (part of  $\lambda$ , according to the decipherment in the ed. pr.). But it would be hard to produce a plausible supplement ending in  $\omega\omega$ .

I cannot make anything of what precedes. The ed. pr. gives  $\phi$  | . . . | . The first traces may represent the upper left-hand part of the loop and part of the upright of  $\phi$ , but the upright may be a cancel-stroke, as the ed. pr. notes.  $\epsilon$  is possible, but some hesitation is in order, since the papyrus is lost above and to the left of the traces.  $\epsilon$  is followed by a second upright, which touches the trace that the ed. pr. takes for the loop of  $\lambda$ , and the ed. pr. considers that the two uprights together as the remains of  $\pi$ .

Prof. D'Alessio and I have both considered reading  $\epsilon\kappa\omega\omega$ , but  $\kappa$ , with its arms made as a low tight loop, would be highly anomalous; and even if the reading were accepted,  $\mu\epsilon[\omega\omega]\kappa\omega\omega$  would fit neither trace nor space at the start, while  $\phi[\nu]\epsilon\kappa\omega\omega$  would not give plausible sense.

3 *Καγόμων*: unidentified. A *Κάνωπος κισαρμόδης* is mentioned in a list of performers assigned to the second century (LXXIV 5013 i), but the editor notes that the name is common. The reading is difficult and uncertain at the start, where a correction seems to have been executed. Turner suggests in the ed. pr. that  $\kappa\alpha\gamma$  may have been corrected to  $\kappa\alpha\gamma\eta$ , but this proposal does not seem to account for all the ink. Prof. D'Alessio wonders whether the scribe's intention was to correct the word to  $\kappa\omega\mu\eta\rho\delta\omega$ , but  $\omega\gamma$  would be extremely squashed, and  $\pi$  does not appear to have been corrected, as he

notes. It is curious that Canopus's function is left unspecified while the *τραγουδῆς* (or *τραγουδοῦ*) and *χορωδῆς* mentioned below (4, 6, 8) are left unnamed; cf. 4 n.

4  $\delta\phi$  | . The ed. pr. adopts O. M. Peart's expansion  $\delta\rho(\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda)$ , but  $\delta\rho(\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\omega)$  is simpler and supported by i 2.

$\phi\delta$ ( $\alpha$ )  $\tau\omega\upsilon$   $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\iota$ ( $\omega\upsilon$ ). For the tragic singers called *τραγουδοῖ* (LSJ s.v.  $\iota$ ), cf. e.g. S. Nervegia, *ZPE* 162 (2007) 37–9; ead., *Menander in Antiquity* 85–8. If this is a list of songs to be performed on a particular occasion, the absence of the name may be accounted for by supposing that a performer had not been decided on or that his name was at any rate not known to the compiler when producing this list, or that the identity of the performer was of no particular interest. But it is also possible that the writer did not want the description to extend beyond the end of this line. Cf. also 3 n.

6 . . . . . The ed. pr. gives . . .  $\nu\omega$ , but while  $\nu\omega$  is possible, it seems safer, in view of the irregularity of the hand and the absence of a context, to print only sublinear dots.

$\phi\delta$ ( $\alpha$ )  $\tau\omega\upsilon$   $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\iota$ ( $\omega\upsilon$ ). The reading of  $\phi\delta$ ( $\alpha$ ) is very doubtful; again, the text seems to have been corrected. The ed. pr., following a suggestion of Turner's, gives  $\delta\theta\phi$  | , but notes that the upper half of his  $\theta$  could be taken as a supralinear  $\lambda$ .  $\omega$  is far from easy, and the interpretation leaves ink unaccounted for both to its left (the  $\delta$  of the ed. pr.) and to the left of  $\tau$  (where the ed. pr. gives | ), but it has the merit of giving suitable Greek, already used at 4 above.  $\lambda\theta$  would be written most anomalously;  $\kappa\theta\theta$ , also considered by the ed. pr., seems no more satisfactory.

7  $\tau$  | . The confused traces following  $\epsilon$  may represent a deleted  $\delta$  (so the ed. pr.): in that case, '12' was corrected to '10'. The ed. pr. gives | before the numeral, but the ink in question is faint and probably belongs to the earlier text. What follows is in any case not a total. The sign is omitted from Kannicht's transcription.

8 . . .  $\omega$  | . To judge by what precedes, this may be either a personal name in the genitive or a plural substantive parallel to the repeated  $\phi\delta\alpha\lambda$ : the latter interpretation may be likelier, since the plural substantive is nowhere else certainly omitted. Turner reads  $\tau\alpha\phi\omega\lambda$ , which he interprets as *Παμφωλ*( $\omega\upsilon$ ). This is at least a known name, but it is not likely here. The omission of the  $\mu$  would be surprising, and *Παμφωλ* does not seem to be found as a historical personal name at all, though LGPN IIIB records one bearer of *Πάνφωλος* (Larisa, c.80  $\omega$ ). None of the letters before  $\nu$  can be read with certainty, and some of the ink may belong to the earlier text. (The faint traces just to the left of the column clearly do belong to the earlier text, as the ed. pr. notes.)  $\lambda$  is not too unlike the  $\lambda$  of *χορωδῆ*( $\omega\upsilon$ ), but it has a surprisingly flat top, and  $\tau$  may be better, though still doubtful, since its cross-bar would project hardly at all to the left of its upright.

The paragraph under this line is omitted by the ed. pr. and Kannicht.

9 . . . | . . . | : illegible. The writer appears to have corrected or deleted some letters. The ed. pr. gives  $\phi\delta$  | . . . | . Kannicht . . .

$\phi\delta\alpha$  | . Perhaps, as the ed. pr. suggests,  $\phi\delta\alpha$  was substituted for the numeral  $\delta$ , and the numeral was then given again in the next line. The last line of col. i provides a possible parallel for a later insertion of  $\phi\delta\alpha$  (for the sake of clarity).

W. B. HENRY

## 5204. DIRECTIONS FOR PANKRATON (?)

21 3B.25/E4)c

fr. 1 17.1 x 12.3 cm

Second century

On the back of an official register, seven fragments of a text written in a small cursive hand resembling that of XXV 2429 (commentary on Epicharmus). The

column is wide, with no margins remaining in the full width of fr. 1. The lower margin was at least 3.2 cm deep to judge by fr. 6. Fr. 2 has a lower margin preserved to a depth of about 1 cm and an intercolumnium to a width of about 1.2 cm. A section beginning at fr. 2 ii 7 is marked by a forked paragraphus together with an ascending oblique in the margin to the left of the line before. The first line of the new section projects slightly into the left-hand margin and the end of the preceding line is left blank; the blank line-end at fr. 2 i 4 may be explained in the same way. Within a section, sentence end is indicated by a blank space. No other punctuation is used (but see fr. 1.12 n.), and there are no lection signs or abbreviations. In a few places, letters on the line are crossed out and letters to be inserted or substituted for those on the line are added above (fr. 1.12, 13, 16; fr. 2 i 3; fr. 6.2), in all cases apparently by the hand responsible for the main text. Iota adscript is not written. εἰ for ι may be found at fr. 1.5, and οἰ for υ at fr. 1.14.

Only one other text of this kind has appeared, the wrestling instructions in III 466, of which a new edition was published by M. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports* (1982) 161–71, cited below by the author's name. For the third column, omitted by Grenfell and Hunt and by Poliakoff, I have used the photograph at <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p356>. 466 is written on the front of a roll in narrower columns and in a more formal hand, dated to the second century by the original editors and to the first by Cavallo (*Il calamo e il papiro* 228). Sentences are separated by a blank space together with a stop, and the paragraphus used to mark off a new section is not forked, but as in the present text, the new section begins on a new line that projects slightly to the left, the end of the preceding line being left blank.

Both texts consist of a series of instructions addressed alternately to each of a pair of fighters. The instructor turns from one fighter to the other with the pronoun *κύ*, only used at the beginning of each sentence. Where the instruction addressed to a single fighter contains two or more verbs in the imperative, they are joined with *καί*. An exception to the rule that each sentence begins with an ambiguity is found at 5204 fr. 2 ii 7, but since that is the beginning of a section, no ambiguity results, as it would if the pronoun were to be omitted in the middle of a sequence. In 466, each paragraph ends with *πλήξον*; the same form is also used in the middle of a paragraph (26). In 5204, the final word of the paragraph that ends at fr. 2 ii 6 is (-)β[α]λέ. 466 contains both short and longer sequences (two lines: 19–20; at least nine lines: iii 1–9 (+ the foot of col. ii?)). The length of the sequences in 5204 cannot be determined, since there are no blank line-ends in fr. 1 and the supplement *πλήξον* (fr. 1.10), even if correct, is no certain indication of the end of a sequence. The apparent reference to prizes in the new text (fr. 1.5) is surprising. It may suggest that these instructions are intended for use in the training of prospective competitors. Dr Remijsen prefers to see the text as a set of directions for an exhibition fight: see p. 196.

As blows are mentioned in 5204 (fr. 1.9, 11, 12), the sport involved will not be wrestling, as in 466, but probably pankration: for the ban on striking in wrestling, see e.g. Ambr. *Comm. in Ps.* 36.55 (PL XIV 9930n). 5204 fills some of the gaps in our knowledge of the relevant technical terminology, for which it is now one of the largest preserved sources. But its value for the study of the sport is less than it might have been. No line is preserved to its full length, and although the column is unlikely to have been significantly wider than fr. 1 as it now stands, it is often impossible to see how a particular instruction relates to those that precede and follow. Where the precise force of a term is unclear, the context is generally of little assistance, and much remains obscure even where the text itself is not in doubt.

In the transcription, \* indicates a blank space.

## Fr. 1

|    |   |                                   |
|----|---|-----------------------------------|
|    |   |                                   |
|    |   | ].... a.[                         |
|    |   | χ[σι]στής.* cύ χκ[                |
|    |   | δ]νάσπα χεῖ[ρ]α.* cύδ             |
|    | ]π[...].[                               | ].: χεῖρ[ι].....[                 |
| 5  | ]δ , σθλα[                              | ]χρ[...].[ εἶπιθες τὸ σει.[       |
|    | ]μα ...[ ]β[...].*                      | cύ προβάλων ἐγκρίμων καὶ παρεις [ |
|    | τ]μάξον.* cύ καρστ[...]. λ. καὶ ...     | θου καὶ τῷ ποδὶ ἀντίβα τὸ χρῶ[ν   |
|    | ] καὶ συνθῶ.* cύ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ ὑποβολῇ    | περίωσαι.* cύ νύξ[α] c] ἔπ[ι[     |
|    | ] , ηρον.* cύ ἀνακᾶθου.* cύ κῆφας       | δι[δ]ιστρον.* [c]ὐ πλ...ον....[   |
| 10 | ] φύκιάνα καὶ τῷ γόνατι ὑπὸ             | τὴν λαγόνα κατὰστρεφον.* cύ πλ[   |
|    | ]...[ κῆφας δίδαστρον.* cύ              | ἀφελού δάκτυλον.* cύ καρπὸν       |
|    | c]ὐ πρόβαλε.* cύ ...[.] ἀμενος          | κῆφον [καὶ] ἀπόφερον χεῖρα[       |
|    | ] χερὸς στρέφον καὶ μεταβαλοῦ           | ὑπιτρον βάλε ... ἀφ...[           |
|    | ] , νοξ[...]. νοαχ... ε. [ἀ]γκιάνα.* cύ | ἐνδοῦς [.]...[.]...[              |
| 15 | ]χ καὶ ...[.] ε. ἀγκιάνα.* cύ           | ἀν[τ]ίβα κ[                       |
|    | ] ακαθ[...]. ἀπ[τ]ή πλεξ[...].*         | cύ ἀτόφ[ε]ρ[...]. [               |
|    | ] cύ ἀνακᾶθου [.]...[.]...[.]...[       | ].ε...[.] [                       |
|    | ]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[           | ]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[           |
| 20 | ]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[           | ]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[           |

6 I. ἔγκριμον

Fr. 2 col. i

col. ii

. . .  
 ] .  
 ] . . α  
 ] :  
 ]  
 5 ] ν περιλαβε  
 ] ον περιλαβε  
 ] . φησι . [ . ] , ε  
 ] . ετ

ε] χαα . . . [ .  
 ] . μβ . . . . . [ .  
 ] ν . ° cù ἀνάστα [ χεῖρα  
 [ ε ] τρηφο[ ν ] ° cù θν . . [ .  
 5 [ ] . ν . [ . ] β . . χφ [ ] . . [ .  
 / [ β ] αλε . [ [ ] [ ] [ .  
 ] δος παραμβολην [ .  
 [ ] ον μετακάθισον [ .  
 [ ε ] πάνων . [ . . ] [ .  
 10 [ ε ] ν δράζει τ . . [ .

Fr. 3

Fr. 4

Fr. 5

. . . [ .  
 ] . νν [ .  
 c] δ χάσας [ .  
 τῆ ἄ] ριστερά ἄπ[ .  
 5 ] πλευράν . . [ .  
 ] . ν . ° cù [ .  
 ] . . cù θ[ .  
 ] . [ .

. . . [ .  
 ] . . . . [ .  
 ] . νε . [ .  
 ] . α . [ .

stripped  
stripped

5 ] . . ρ . . . αρο [ .  
 ] . [ . . . . . [ .  
 ] . [ . [ .  
 ] ν . [ .

Fr. 6

Fr. 7

. . . κ . [ .  
 ] . [ . ] . . . [ .  
 ] cù περι[ .

. . . [ .  
 ] . [ . . . [ .  
 ] . . [ . ] αρ[ .  
 ] . υπ[ .  
 5 ] . [ .

Fr. 1

. . . hand. You . . . stretch up (?) . . . hand. You . . . hand . . . prize (?) . . . lay on the . . . You, stretching out (your hands), envelop (?), and . . . shake. You . . . and . . . and set your foot against his foot (?), his knee (?) . . . and join. You, with your left (hand), with an underhook, force (him) round. You, poking . . . You, sit up. You, having struck, drag him along. You . . . elbow and with your knee under his flank turn him over. You . . . having struck, drag him along. You, take hold of a finger. You . . . his wrist . . . You, stretch out (your hands). You . . . strike. You pull away . . . hand . . . hand, turn

(it?), and turn around. You (?), throw him on his back . . . elbow. You, applying (?) . . . and . . . elbow. You, brace . . . disentangle yourself (?) . You, pull away . . . You, sit up . . . and . . .

Fr. 2 col. i

'. . . grab . . . grab . . .'

col. ii

'. . . let go (?) . . . You, stretch up (?) (. . . hand) . . . turn. You . . . throw.  
 'Give a leg hook . . . shift your position . . . above . . . You, grasp . . .'

Fr. 3

'. . . You, letting go . . . away with your left hand . . . rib . . . You . . . You . . .'

Fr. 1

2 χη[ε-? Cf. fr. 2 ii 1, fr. 3.3.

3 ῥύσεται: cf. fr. 2 ii 3; *Lac. Asia*, 10; Poliakoff 111. At *Ar. Pl.* 691 τὴν χεῖρα πάλιν ἀνέσκαπεν means 'pulled back her hand', and that may be the sense in this text. But both here and in the similar expression ἀπόφερε χεῖρα (12), the hand in question probably belongs not to the fighter addressed but to his opponent: cf. 11, where δάκτυλον and καρπὸν clearly do belong to the opponent.

5 ] δ . . ἀλλὰ: Dr Chang suggests δ' ἔπαθλα.

] γρ . . : possibly some form of γόνυ.

τὸ σε: [ perhaps τὸ σεμῖδον τῆς χειρός, with εἰ for ι. Cf. LSJ s.v. σεμῖδ 11.2; Gal. *De motu muscul.* 1.6 (fr. 395 K., 13.25-7 Rosa) εἰ δ' ἔσκαπτος τῶν δακτύλων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνδοῦν τεσσάρων καμψθεῖν, τὸ σχῆμα κύματι τῆς χειρός γόνυον' (ἀν) ἄλκιτος τοῖς ἐν παγκρατίῳ προτετακένους αὐτῆν δμοιον.

6 προβαλόν: cf. 12. So in 466 2, προβαλε will probably have had no expressed object. Cf. e.g. IG VII 2470 (Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger* 56, of about 300 BC) 3 προβόλας; Poliakoff 167; παρεῖς- rather than παρείς? *Lac. Asia*, 9 παρεσελλών, of sexual penetration, may be relevant if the choice of verb was influenced by the terminology of combat sports.

7 τ] ῥέξον: cf. *Lac. Asia*, 10 ῥέξας θέξων.

καμψθεῖν, ἄ . . : perhaps καμψθεῖσθαι, for κατακατέσθαι. The form is attested at *Acta Phil.* 5.10 (A), corresponding to κατέσκαπτον . . . καταστήν (V).

. . . θου: perhaps συμθού, as in 8.

ἀνί(βα): cf. 15; 466 31 ἀνι(βα)ί(ε) (Cazzaniga).

8 συνθαῖ: perhaps equivalent to the passive of συμθάνω. Cf. on 7.

ἡρπυλοῖς: cf. 466 iii 1-2; Poliakoff 169-70.

περλοσας: cf. 466 iii 1-2 δε]ξιά ἑπισσαι. (-)θέτω is commonly used of pushing in wrestling (Poliakoff 113).

νίξ[ε]: cf. 14 n.; *Lac. Asia*, 9 νίξας, which was taken as a military metaphor by Poliakoff 113-14.

9 π]οίησον? The verb is unsurprisingly used of executing a wrestling move (Poliakoff 118). ἀνακάθου: cf. 17.

κῆφας ῥι[έ]ξον: cf. 11. διακίρω is well attested but apparently not hitherto as a technical term of combat sport. The sense may be 'drag along', as in *Acta Ant. et Mus.* 25, 26.

πλ . . ον: perhaps πλάττηρον (suggested by Professor Parsons), but γ is not easy to accept, as the trace suggests the base of a circle:

10 πλ]έξον?

11 κῆφας διακίρων: cf. 9 n. Before it, ]ε]θ[?

κα]ν(α)-, κα]θ-?

12 *αράβαλε*: cf. 6 n.

[. . .] ἄνεος. The initial letter is perhaps likeliest to be λ or α; the next may be λ. Perhaps ἀλλ[α]ξάνεος.

εγ above the line is presumably intended to replace the deleted *αα* on the line, and in this position, between two imperatives, only *εγ* is possible, but it does not account for the first trace (perhaps the top of an upright with a short stroke extending to the right). It may be intended as a mark of punctuation, to replace the blank space that regularly precedes *εγ* on the line.

χε[ρα]: probably the opponent's hand. Cf. 3 n.

13 *μεταβαλεθ*: cf. 466 6, 26 (Poliakoff 167).

I take the supralinear traces to represent εγ, which could easily have dropped out after *οω* if the exemplar had little or no blank space at this point. But the second trace, apparently a short upright touching the top of the line in the above, does not suggest γ.

14 ] . . . ρι[ε] . . . ] ἀνοι[ε]ο. In and in the vicinity of forms of ἀγκών, it is tempting to recognize *νέζω*, with the familiar substitution of *οι* for *υ*, though the correct spelling is used at 8.

αγκ . . . ε . . . [. Adapting a suggestion of Dr Chang's, one may consider reading ἀγκώνι ἐγ'; Dr Chang notes that the same phrase may be used again in the next line (after κω). For the preposition, cf. perhaps 8 *νέζο[ε] ἐγ[ε]*.

15 . . . ] . . . ] ε . . . ἀγκώνα: cf. 14 n. If ἀγκών[ιν] ἐγ' ἀγκώνα, the preceding imperative will no doubt have been *νέζω* however spelt, as apparently in 14 (see n.), and ]ρ at the start of the line may be its final letter.

δν[τ]ίθρα: cf. 7.

16 ἀπ[ε]πιλε[ε]α. Apparently not used elsewhere of a competitor in combat sport, but *πλέω* and its compounds are familiar in this context (Poliakoff 75–87). The corruption (active for middle) may have been caused by the frequent occurrence of *πλέω* in this category of text. Before it, *εθ[ε]ρ* would fit. It would produce asyndeton, but a *εγ* originally lost after *οω* may have been added above the line; cf. 12 n., 13 n.

17 *δυνακθ[ε]ο*: cf. 9.

Fr. 2 col. i

5, 6 *περιλαβε*: cf. Poliakoff 124.

col. ii

3 *ἀνστα* [χε[ρα]: cf. fr. 1.3. The extension of the tail of the final α implies word-end.

4 *δν* . . . [: 'give' or 'two'? The final traces do not much help to narrow down the possibilities.

5 *δδ* *ε[ε]ρ*? Again the final traces are unhelpful.

7 The initial δ is enlarged. The beginnings of the preceding lines are lost to surface damage, but 9–10 at any rate appear to have begun on an alignment further to the right, and the same may be conjectured for the rest.

*παρημολήν*: cf. Poliakoff 28–33.

8 *μετακθ[ε]ο*: apparently new to the terminology of combat sport.

Fr. 3

2 Possibly γ[έ]νο, but the division is uncertain.

4 τ[η] ἀ[ε]ρε[ε]ρ[ε] ἀπ[ε]. 466 suggests ἀπ[ε]βαλε (24) or ἀπ[ε]ωαι (iii 2); cf. also fr. 1.8 above. Before, probably *εγ*.

7 There is a trace on the edge touching the back of *ε* where a blank space would be expected, but the articulation seems hard to avoid.

Fr. 4

Column foot likely but not confirmed by the front.

Fr. 6

3 *περι[ω]αι, περι[λα]βε?*

Fr. 7

4 *εγ* *π[ε]ρ[ε]ο?*

W. B. HENRY

### 5205. SPELL FOR THE CHARIOT RACE

39 5B.119/E/5ja

8.5 × 11.5 cm

Fourth/fifth century  
Plate VIII

This piece consists of remains of seventeen lines written along the fibres with a thick pen in an irregular but practised cursive hand, for which cf. e.g. P. Cair. Preis. 2 and 3, of 362; P. Köln III 139, of 387; Bodl. MS. Gr. class. f 65 (P), of 439 (ed. A. Benaisa, *JJP* 38 (2008) 53–61, with a photograph). The back is blank. The left margin is extant to c.1 cm; the right margin is not preserved, and it may be conjectured on the basis of line 10 that at least c.10 letters have been lost in each line on that side: see n. It is not clear how much is lost at the top; at the foot there is blank papyrus to a depth of 0.5 cm, presumably the lower margin.

The text consists of a series of invocations beginning with *ἐξορκίζω σε*, addressed to a *νεκυνδαίμων* and calling upon an eclectic list of higher powers—Egyptian gods (9, 14–15), four or more Hebrew angels (10), the God of Gods (13), along with a series of *voces magicae* (8). The context is agonistic and equestrian, as is shown by the reference to the circus faction of the Blues and their horses (5); the horses themselves (or possibly the charioteers) are mentioned by name (3, 6, 12). The spell is an aggressive one, intended to hold a rival team back and make it fall (11, 16); the operative verb *παραξω* appears in 5 and 17. On the structure of the team (or teams) in question, see 3 n.

This is so far the only known agonistic *defixio* preserved on papyrus. Curses of this type appear on tablets, in most cases made of lead, found at fourteen different places in the Graeco-Roman world, now collected by J. Tremel, *Magica agonistica: Fluchtafeln im antiken Sport* (2004), cited below as Tremel, *MA*; add *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaearum/Palaestinae* II 1679, a lead curse tablet of the fourth/fifth century found in the eastern hippodrome of Caesarea. Twelve lead tablets from the circus of Antioch are being edited by F. Heintz and A. Hollmann (see *ZPE* 145 (2003) 67–8); note also SB XXVI 16369, an ostrakon giving a curse directed against the Green faction. 5205 is the third curse related to a sporting competition found at Oxyrhynchus, the others being Suppl. Mag. 53 (= Tremel, *MA* 10), a lead tablet of



the third century directed against a runner, and an unpublished lead tablet in the Cologne papyrus collection containing a curse on horses (see *ZPE* 100 (1994) 332).

Race curses can be traced back to the magical handbook PGM III, which gives instructions for a long and complex ritual involving a cat (lines 1–164) and to be used for different purposes, including restraint of charioteers in a race (162–3 *κάτοχος ἡμιόχων ἐν ἀγώνι*). It directs the reader to write names of chariots and charioteers on a piece of papyrus and (probably) to draw the horses (19–21; see H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* I<sup>2</sup> (1992) 19 n. 6; R. Merkelbach, M. Totti, *Abrasax* i (1990) 81–103, esp. 102–3; Tremel, *MA* pp. 51–2; E. Heintz, 'Circus Curses and Their Archaeological Contexts', *JRA* 11 (1998) 337–42, at 342; cf. PGM IV 2145–2240, esp. 2215–17 with Tremel, *MA* p. 54. This model is clearly reflected in an applied curse against the Blue faction preserved on a fourth-century (or later) tablet from Beirut (Tremel, *MA* 19), entitled *κάτοχος ἵππων κὲ ἡνι(δ)χων*; see D. R. Jordan, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 325–35, esp. 328.

For circus games, cf. J. Gager (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (1992), esp. pp. 42–77 on 'Competition in Theater and Circus'; id., 'Curse and Competition in the Ancient Circus', in H. W. Attridge et al. (edd.), *Of Scribes and Scrolls* (1990) 215–28; Heintz, loc. cit.; P. Lee-Stecum, 'Dangerous Reputations: Charioteers and Magic in Fourth-Century Rome', *G&R* 53 (2006) 224–34; H. P. D'Escurac, 'Magie et cirque dans la Rome antique', *BzZf* 12 (1987) 449–67. See also F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (1997), esp. 121, 155–8, 196.

The editors wish to extend their heartfelt thanks to the following scholars for their expert and collegial assistance: Dr Robert Daniel, Dr Revel Coles, Prof. Theodore de Bruyn, Prof. Jacques van der Vliet, Prof. Mariella Menchelli. At the final stage we were able to incorporate valuable readings by Dr Henry (WBH).

9...[  
 ...σφι...[  
 3 *Σαρανηνός Βελζμου Παρθάων Διδύμης Νυμφικῆς Πελη. Στραβ[ός*  
*κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀνομάτων τῶν ἐπιτετραγμένων σοι. [*  
 5 *πάταξον τοὺς ἵππων τῶν Καλλιδάων, κἀκεῖ αἰτῶσε ἵνα [*  
*Παρθάων Νυμφικῆς Στραβός Πελη. ἔξορκίζω σε, νεκ[ύδαμον*  
*β...βα...σφαρ ἔξορκίζω σε, νεκ[ύδαμον*  
*χαταβας ἀχλα, χαλθαβας ἔξορκίζω σε κρητό τ. [ κα-*  
 10 *τὰ τοῦ ἰχυροῦ Ἰουρον ἀρχεφρευθοῦ φρυγῆς ἔξορκίζω σε [*  
*Γαβρηλ Ῥαφαήλ Μιχαήλ Βουτήλ, ἀπέθεσε εἰς τὸν ε. [ ἵνα κα-*  
*ταβάλλῃς πτωματίης καὶ θήσῃς τοὺς ... [*  
*Παρθάων Διδύμης Στραβός Νυμφικῆς Πελη. μ... [*  
*ἔξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν θεῶν σφ... [*  
 15 *...Οὐσίρατων Οὐσὸρ Μνευεν Οὐσε[*  
*[...], ν τοῦ κυρίου Οὐσέρ... [*  
*ο, [...], ν κύρον πτωματι... [*  
*χ... [...], πῆφταξον αὐτο[*

'... Sarakenos Belehmu Parthاون Didyme Nymphike Pele—Strabos... by the holy names that are attached to you... smite the horses of the Blues, hold them back so that... Parthاون Nymphike Strabos Pele... I adjure you, spirit of the dead, by (ooos magical). I adjure you, spirit of the dead, by (ooos magical). I adjure you by... the mighty Ichorus (ooos magical). I adjure you [... by] Gabriel, Raphael, Michael, Bouel, go off to the (hippodrome?) so that you may cast down, cause to fall, and bind the... Parthاون Didyme Strabos Nymphike Pele... I adjure you by the God of the Gods... Ousirapis Ousor Mnevis Ous... of the Lord Ouser... drag, cause to fall... smite...'

No line is complete at the end. If the supplement suggested in 10 n. is right, the final lacuna there contained 10 letters. This may serve as a guide, but a very approximate guide, given the irregularity of the script and probably of the original right-hand margin.

3 Here (starting with *Παρθάων*) and in lines 6 and 12 we seem to have lists of names. The same five may appear in 3 and 12, and four of them in 6 (with the fifth perhaps to be supplied in the preceding lacuna), but the order is different in each case. They may be the names of a team of four horses and its charioteer. (Maru Dardar *Liasón, De nominibus equorum circensium: Pars occidentalis* (1996), provides a useful collection of hipponymy, but only for the western provinces.)

The grammar of such lists is unpredictable. In several tablets of the 2nd/3rd cent., all found at Carthage (Tremel, *MA* 264–8, 29–9; 377–9, 22–6; 587–9, 21–4; 595–7, 22–5) and in one of the 5th/6th cent. found at Antioch (Tremel, *MA* 1147–61), lists of hipponymy are in the accusative, because they represent the object of the verbs of aggression. In other places, however, the syntactic relation has been ignored and the lists consist of names in the nominative; see, for example, Tremel, *MA* 19, 21–30 and 90.21–8. 5205, although fragmentary, seems to belong to the second group. In Tremel, *MA* 69.5–8, a list of five accusatives—four hipponymy (i.e. a *quadriga*) and the name of the charioteer—occurs without any verb.

We expect *quadrigae* on the assumption that a faction could compete in a race with two or three teams of four horses and a charioteer each; see J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circus* (1986) 196–8, 451–2. In the Beirut tablet, twenty-eight horses of the Blues are cursed, perhaps representing an entire stable with seven teams of four horses each and four charioteers. Cf. *ZPE* 100 (1994) 331–4; Trelmel, *MA* pp. 70–73; cf. *ZPE* 145 (2003) 78–9). A similar case occurs in an 4th-century tablet from Rome (Trelmel, *MA* 90) containing a curse against the Blues, the reds, and an unnamed faction; see *ZPE* 141 (2002) 146–7. In Trelmel, *MA* 45 (*n/n*, Hadrumetum; bilingual (Greek-Latin)), four hipponyms representing a *quadriga* occur, but it is uncertain whether the only masculine anthroponym (apparently) in the text represents the charioteer. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the sequence *γαλαργον* represents another hipponym or a nickname of one of the previously mentioned horses or should be taken as a *vox magica*.

A further question concerns the ratio of sexes within the teams, if indeed there were mixed teams. Of the names read with reasonable certainty, two belong to mares (*Νυμφική*, *Διδύμη*). Certainly mares raced. Darder Lissón lists Gemmula, Gloriosa, Harpe, Margarita, Melissa, *Ολοκομμένη*, *Ολυμπιακή*, Puerina, Romula. There are mythological precedents: *Αθήη*, the mare belonging to Agamemnon and used by Menelaus for the race at the funeral games in honour of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.295, 409, 523); *Ἐρίδα* and *Παρθένια*, the two mares buried together with their owner Maresax, the first sutor of Hippodamia (Paus. 6.21.7); Pholoté, Iris, and Thoe, the three mares of Admetus that participated in the games in honour of Opheltes (Stat. *Théb.* 6.332–9, 461–2).

*Σαρακηνός*, I. *Σαρακηνός* (read by Dr Gonis); *γ* apparently corrected from *τ*. This ethnic, referring to the late antique nomadic Arabs of the Eastern Desert, occurs in *papyri* from the fourth century onwards. For the Saracens, see T. Power in H. Barnard, K. Duistermaat (edd.), *The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert* (2012) 282–97. P. Mayerson, *ZPE* 79 (1980) 284, notes that Saracens are mentioned together with Blemmyes (see next n.) in the petition P. Cair. Masp. I 6700g (c.687–70) and in a poem of Dioscorus of Aphrodité, P. Aphrod. Lit. IV 10.23; cf. also the homily P. Lond. Copt. I 280.11, and for further passages see J. Desanges in T. Fahd (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel* (1989) 428 = *Toujours Afrique arabe, fait nouveau* (1999) 336 (we owe the reference to Prof. J.-L. Fournet). Here it could be taken as a hipponym of the type that indicates ethnic origin, for which see Darder Lissón 39; *ZPE* 145 (2003) 78–80; Trelmel, *MA* pp. 61–2. Otherwise, perhaps the spirit is to attack like one of the Saracens or Blemmyes.

*Βελζουμ*: Coptic ΒΛΖΜΟΥ (singular), corresponding to the Greek Βέλμ(μ)α (plural). Cf. SB XX 14705.14 *τό(σ) Πιαζ Βελζ* [ . . . ] *μ*, dubiously associated with Aphrodité, where Dr Gonis tentatively suggests Βελζ[μ]ου (cf. SB XX 14666.205 *τό(σ) του Βελμ(μ)ός*). The Blemmyes were depicted, especially in Coptic monastic literature, as demonic entities: cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* 38; L. Toró, *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC–500 AD* (2009) 470–72, 522–8; J. H. F. Dijkstra, *Philes and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion* (2008) 152–70; id. in Barnard and Duistermaat (edd.), op. cit., 239–47.

*Παρθένια*. While the (mythological) name is not clear in this line, it can be read with some confidence on the strength of lines 6 and 12.

*Αθήμη* WBH. The last letter is uncertain: rather *α?* Cf. 12.

*Νυμφική*, I. *Νυμφική*. The name recurs in lines 6 and 12, which confirm the reading here. The masculine *Νυμφικός* appears as a hipponym in Trelmel, *MA* 19.22.

*Πελγ*. WBH, who recognizes the same name at 6 and 12. The word may be Coptic; in the last trace is compatible with *kyria*. Cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 261, who records ΠΕΛΗΘ (Achimic; Sahidic ΠΕΛΗΚ), 'meaning unknown, epithet of Antichrist, ?thin'; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* 147, has 'schmahendes Beiwort: all? zerhumpf?'.  
Γραβ[ε] WBH, cf. 6, 12.

At line-end supply *ἐξορκίζω* ce, 'I adjure you', as in lines 6, 7, 8, 9, 13.

4. *κατὰ τῶν ἄλων ἀνομάτων*. For this expression see PGM IV 979, 2033–4, V 76 7, Suppl. Mag. 98 no. 6.1–2.

*τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων ἐν* WBH; cf. PGM III 39–40 *κατὰ [τ]ῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων ἐν τοῖς μυστήριον*.

5. *πάραξον*. For the verb see Suppl. Mag. nos. 59–60 (hexameters), 61. These all come from a Christian context; in the LXX *παράσκειν* serves as an almost technical term for divine intervention; see G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabianus* (1998) 19 f.

*Καλλισάνω* refers to the circus function of the Blues; references to the Veneti from Oxyrhynchus are later, but the two terms for the Blues seem to co-exist in Hermopolis. Among the parallels in *παργι*, note especially P. Cair. Isid. 58.14 (Arin., 315), the earliest surviving reference to a Colour (and instance of the word) in Egypt, and CPR VI 63.1 (Hermop., early IV), perhaps the earliest example from the *chōra*; see further Remijsen, pp. 205–6. For the Blue function in Egypt, see especially J. Gascou, *CE* 58 (1982) 226–8 (227 with n. 2 on Oxyrhynchus), and E. Mithoff, *CPR* XXIII 33.3–4 n.; cf. also A. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (1976) 148, 199; Humphrey, *Roman Circus* 517–18; LXXVII 5120 3 n. *κάτεχε*: cf. Trelmel, *MA* 8, 86; p. 150 above.

5α. [ WBH, who supplies *ἐν μ[ε] (ε.γ. δυνασθέντων τρέχει)*, cf. e.g. Trelmel, *MA* 53.18 ff., 43 ff. 6 *Γραβός* WBH; cf. 3, 12.

*ἐξορκίζω* ce, *νεψιδάμων*. Cf. 7. For the invocation of a ghost of a dead man, see Trelmel, *MA* 53.1, 54.1, 56.1, 58.1, 59.1, 61.1 (all of the *and/and cent.*, from Carthage); PGM IV 296–7, 2031–2, 2061; XVI 1, 9, 17–18, 26; 33, 43, 53–4, 61, 68; Suppl. Mag. 39.1; 46.14–15; 47.11–12, 14; 49.28, 32–3; 49 back 52.31 51.2; 57.2; cf. also 3 n. Except in Suppl. Mag. 47, which has the address *νεκιδάμων Αβρόω*, the 'spirit of the dead' carries no name and no epithet. Thus we may assume that after *νεψιδάμων* a phrase of the type *κατὰ τοῦ + οὐνο* material occurred, as in PGM XVI 1–3, 26–8, 33–4, 43–6, and 53–5. A similar reconstruction can be proposed for lines 7 and 8.

8 *χαταβας* *αχλη*, *χαλαβασ*: *αχλη* *magica*.

*χαταβας*: not *καταβας*. The extended top of the sigma perhaps suggests word-end.

*αχλη*: possibly *αχλα*, as at Suppl. Mag. 45.40 (one of the Seven Thrones).

8–9 If the supplement proposed for line 10 is right, we have space after *κατὰ τοῦ* or *τῶν* (B) for another divinity. Alternatively, *γ παρω* could be taken as the end of a superlative, e.g. *κατὰ τοῦ* [κατρω]τάτου, but we have not found exact parallels for such a double epithet.

9 *τοῦ Ἰχυροῦ Ἰδρου*: cf. PGM IV 987–8 *ἐπικαλοῦμαι* ce, *τὸν μέγιστον θεόν*, *τὸν θεοῦ Ἰδρου Ἀπποκράτην*; 2031–4 *ἐξορκίζω* ce, *νεκιδάμων*, *κατὰ τοῦ Ἰχυροῦ καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀπὸ κατὰ τῶν ἄλων αὐτοῦ* [ *ἀνομάτων* ].

*αρχεφρεσέων φωνεῖ*: cf. PGM XXXVI 317–18 *ἐν ἐμῷ Ἰδρου ὁ μέγας* | *ἀρχεφρεσέων φωνεῖ*, IV 305–6 *αρχεφρεσέων φωνεῖ*, XII 347 *αρχεφρεσέων φωνεῖ*, XIII 987 *φωνεῖ*.

9–10 If the supplement proposed for line 10 is right, we have space for c.10 letters after *γ ρε* (E). Two possibilities: (i) *νεκιδάμων κατὰ* (too long?); (ii) *κατὰ Κοιμήτη* (or some other angelic name).

10 *Γαβριήλ Ταβαρήλ Μεχαήλ Βουρήλ* (Γ. WBH). For similar chains of angels see SB XXVI 16369.5–6, PGM XXXVI 171–6; P. 21.14–16, 33–5. Another name or names may have preceded at the end of line 9.

1. [ WBH reads *τη* and supplies *ἐπ[ι]κεῖνω*, 'hovers' (5120 3 n.). Cf. CIPR II 1679.14 n.

11 *καὶ ὄχηρ τοῦ* . . . [ WBH, who comments 'B overlaps the α. ligature. It is not clear what follows *τοῦ*: apparently not *ἴππου*'].

12 *Διδύμη*, I. *Διδύμη* (read by Prof. Bastianini). As in 3, the last letter is uncertain (perhaps *α*). *Διδύμη* occurs commonly as a personal name, but not hitherto as a hipponym.

*Γραβός*. Cf. 3, 6. *Γραβός*, 'squinting', is not attested as a name, although it is the root of *Γραβών*.

13 τῶ θεῶ τῶν θεῶν: cf. PGM IV 1146-7 and LXII 24.  
 ἐφ. . . [: ἀφόβη[υ]? For the adjective see PGM IV 359; in PGM XII 54, XIII 873, Suppl. Mag. 46.13, 14, 48]15, 49.31, 32, it means 'terrified'.

14 Ὀδύσιπιν. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Prot.* 4.48.6; Cyr. Alex. *Juhn.* 1.16.12. On the spelling in *Od-* see Suppl. Mag. 44.8-9 n.

Ὀδύσιπιν. Cf. PGM VII 445, XIXa.6. Ὀδύσιπιν and Ὀδύσιπιν Μνε Φρι appear together in various forms on the 'Sethian' tablets, e.g. Tab. Defix. Aud. 155 A.1-5, 25-6; 163.3-5 (= Tremel, *MA* 74.3-5); cf. Audollent's index, p. 467.

15 τῶ κυρίου Ὀδύσιπιν . . . . . [ κύριος is used generally, especially in Syria and Egypt, to express the relation of a god (e.g. Sun, Moon, etc.) to his worshippers: see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (1950) 172. So Suppl. Mag. 93.3 τῶ κυρίου θεῶ Ὀδύσιπιν.

16 κύριον: cf. e.g. Tremel, *MA* 17.12, 18.7.

πρωματ[. . . : πρωμάτις(9)?

17 χ. . . : perhaps χαλ[. cf. 8 χαλβαθασ.

] : the traces, including a long high bar on the right, resemble those of the final letter of Πολη[ (9 n).

αντρ. [: ἀντροίε expected, but the trace after φ looks more like iota.

H. AMIRAV / G. BEVAN / D. COLOMO

## IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

## 5206. PETITION?

7.3 × 10 cm

293/4

88/199(b)

Very little sense can be made of this fragmentary text, but it certainly refers to games and explicitly to an ephebic contest (11). From the imperial times in 12-13 it can be seen that about half or more of each line has been lost on the right. The line-beginnings are preserved in 6ff., but how much has been lost at the top is wholly uncertain. The text is probably complete at the foot; see 14 n.

ἀξιώ in 7 suggests that the document is a petition or request made by a single individual, but we know nothing about him or to whom the request was addressed. If we read [δ]μείν in 9-10, the addressees were plural. If ἀντῶν is right in 5 or 7, the person who makes the request seems to do so on behalf of a third person.

Ephebic games must have taken place in all distinguished Greek cities, since all such cities will have had an ephebate. For a list of cities for which ephebic games are attested see Nigel M. Kennell, *Ephebeia: A Register of Greek Cities with Citizen Training Systems* (*Nikophoros* Beihefte 12; 2006). For Egypt he has entries for some 16 places, including Antinoopolis and Oxyrhynchus. The present document might most naturally be thought to refer to Oxyrhynchus, but in view of Ἄντινοοῦσιν (3), Antinoopolis must also be a possibility. For Antinoopolis see SB IV 7427, V 7605, X 10493, PSI III 199, SEG XXXIV 1552; for Oxyrhynchus see I 42, IV 705 i-ii, IX 1202, XVII 2110, 2127, XLVI 3297, LXV 4491, SB X 10493. There are useful articles on the ephebate in these two cities by K. Rigsby, *CE* 52 (1977) 147-55, and *GRBS* 19 (1978) 239-49. For a general study of the ephebate in Roman Egypt see B. Legras, *Notes: recherches sur les jeunes Grecs dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine* (1999) 181-251 (239-51 on Oxyrhynchus).

|    |               |                        |     |
|----|---------------|------------------------|-----|
|    | c9            | ]. . [                 | c20 |
|    | c8            | ]ναπ[                  | c18 |
|    | c4            | ] Ἄντινοοῦσιν[         | c16 |
|    | . . . ]       | ]ν ἀγάρα καὶ . [       | c18 |
| 5  | . . ]         | ]αθῆμαι αὐτῶν          | c17 |
|    | τ. [ . ]      | ] γορέων μ[            | c18 |
|    | ἀξιώ          | αὐτῶν δηλ[             | c17 |
|    | καὶ . [ . . ] | ]αε ἰσ[ . . . . . [    | c12 |
|    | ἐ]πὶ          | ἀγαθοῖς τελ[ . . . . [ | c12 |
| 10 | μείν          | τῶ προεληλυθ[ότι       | c15 |



15 ]ως  
]νας  
]δδο

col. ii

Μάρ[κος Αδρή]λιος Π[λούταρχος πύκτης  
δις ἡμεροδου]είνης ἡπαλαιατῆς παρά-  
δο[ξ]ος πα[γκρατια]στῆς πλειστοεινης  
8 δ[α] β[ήθ]υ] φυτάρχης [ἀρχιερές τοῦ δόμ-  
3 παντος ἐς τοῦ και ἐπὶ βασιλείων τοῦ  
Σεβαστοῦ δι' ἑμοῦ Μάρ[κου Αδρή]λιου ε.4  
μου τοῦ και ἡγαθοῦ Δ[αίμονος ε.7  
Μάρκω Αδ[ρ]ηλίω Θ[έ]ωνι ε.11 -ω  
και ὡ[ς χρημα]τίζει(?) [χαίρειν. (vac) ἔχων  
10 παρά σου εἰ[ς] τὸν αντ[ι]ο- ε.6 ἐνταρχι-  
κόν ὑπέρ [μὲν] τ[ῶ]ν γυ[μνικῶν] ε.8  
μάτων [. . .] εν. [ ε.17  
γων και [. . .] ιεθ[ ε.17  
. . . [ . . . ] ας, υ. [ . . . ] [ ε.17

ι 2, ιι 2 1. περιουσίης ι 3-4, ιι 3 1. παγκρατιατῆς πλειστοεινης ι 4 αρχιερες  
ι 8 1. Θεωνι

(col. i) Marcus Aurelius Plutarchus, boxer, twice victor in the *periōdōs*, wrestler, extraordinary, pancratiast, victor of many games, xystarch for life, high-priest of the entire guild of athletes and overseer of the baths of the Augustus, through Marcus Aurelius—mus also known as Agathus Dae-mon . . . to Marcus Aurelius Theon . . . and however he(?) is(?) styled, greetings. I have received from you for . . . of xystarch for . . . (col. ii: the gymnīc) games . . . two . . .'

col. i

1-6 Μάρκω Αδρή]λιω Πλούταρχω πύκτης κτλ. Marcus Aurelius Plutarchus, twice victor in the *periōdōs* in boxing, is to be identified with the Plutarchus known from Philost. *Hic* 15, 4-6, who relates that as a boxer he defeated his opponent, Hermecias the Egyptian, when competing in the Olympic games for the second time as an adult; see Moretti, *Olympionikoi* 190 (no. 904), who places the victory in 205, and P. Goan, *Grieks atleten in de Romeins Keizerrijd* (2009) 355 (no. 117). 5207 shows that as a renowned athlete Plutarchus was granted the prestigious *xystarchia* of the entire community of athletes after retiring from his athletic career. His *praxiteles* and *gentilicium* were probably imperial rewards for his victories and are not to be connected with the *Comitiatus Antoniniana* in 213; see D. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1079) 98-9, and cf. the career of the pancratiast M. Aur. Demonstratus Darnas, discussed by J.-Y. Strasser, *BCH* 127 (2003) 251-99. His citizenship is unknown.

2 περιουσίης, 1. -νίης. For the insertion of nasals before stops, see Cignac, *Grammat* i 118.

5 εἰμα]νος ἐς τοῦ. For the supplement, cf. I Olympia 436.2 (B), Pap. Agon. 6.50 (194) with Frisch's n. Against Frisch's view that the terms ἐς τοῦ and εἰμα]νος can be used interchangeably, S. Remijsen will argue in a forthcoming monograph that 'the xystic synod was the formal association of athletes, and the xystos was the athletic community in general'.

5-6 ἐπὶ βασιλείων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. See Strasser, loc. cit. 297-8.

6 δῶ corresponds to δι' ἑμοῦ in col. ii 6.

6-8 Μάρκω [Α]δρή]λιω [[ ε.4] Μων τοῦ [ε]πὶ ἡγαθοῦ [Δ]αίμονος [[ ε.7. The identity of this person cannot be ascertained. An obvious guess for the *xystarchos* would be Διδώμος. What followed the alias may have been his father's name or an official title, occupying the beginning of 8 and the end of ii 7.

7 At the end of the line, an ascending oblique follows [Δ]αίμονος after a blank space about two letters long. Its purpose is unclear.

8-9 Μάρ[κω Αδ]ρή]λιω Θεωνο[ς (θ. Θεωνο)] [[ ε.10] ω. The identity of this person cannot be recovered. The last omega may have belonged to an alias introduced by τῶ και or a title, perhaps even preceded by his father's name.

9 χρηματίζει(?) (= ἡ 9 χρημα]τίζει(?)): or χρηματίζει[ς (cf. e.g. X 1274 5, XIV 1699 3, P Col. X 283-7).

10 χαίρειν. (acc.) ἔχων. The *basis* will have occupied a width of about three letters.

10-11 τὸν αντ[ι]ο- ε.7 ἐνταρχικόν. The adjective \*ἐνταρχικός was not attested previously, but the formation is regular. The *gap* may have contained the substantive agreeing with it, but the word order would be difficult. I have considered restoring τὸν αντ[ι]ο- ε.7 ἐνταρχικός, with ἀποσὸ used for *δαιμον* [L.S.J. s.v. *δαιμόν* 1]), but the problem of the word order remains.

11-13 ἀπὸ μὲν [[ ε.14], [. . .], [. . .] [ἡν ἀπο]σ[θ]εν. ἀπο[σ]θ[ε]ν[ε]μα- would also be possible at the end; cf. ii 11-12 n. On the basis of ii 11-12 ἀπὸ [μὲν] τ[ῶ]ν γυ[μνικῶν] ε.8 [μ]άτων, one could consider restoring ἀπὸ μὲν [ τῶν γυμνικῶν ε.3] κτλ., but the space available before [ἡν ἀπο]σ- would not accommodate the rest, and it is far from certain whether -μάτων could be read anywhere in ii 12. Moreover, [ἡν ἀπο]σ- does not correspond to the sequence [. . .] εν. [ following -μάτων in ii 12. It looks as though the two receipts were concerned with items received for different reasons.

col. ii

3 πα[γκρατια]στῆς. There may have been a short blank space before this space, before the extent of the lacuna.

11-12 τ[ῶ]ν γυ[μνικῶν] ε.8 [μ]άτων; presumably τ[ῶ]ν γυ[μνικῶν ἀγωνισ]μάτων; for the collocation cf. SEG LVI 1359-24 (134) ἐν τε μουσικῶν τὸ ἀγωνισμα ἢ (ἢ) γυμνακῶν.

14 The short high cross-bar immediately after υ can hardly belong to the previous line. It may have been part of π or τ.

R.-L. CHANG

5208. DIPLOMA OF A HIGH-PRIESTESS OF THE ASSOCIATION  
OF DIONYSIAC ARTISTS

81.2B.85/3

11 × 6 cm (upper fr.), 13.1 × 7.6 cm (lower fr.)

Third century

Two fragments, blank on the back, of a letter from the world-wide association of Dionysiac artists notifying its members that a new female member has been enrolled. This is the first piece of evidence for female members of the association. The writing, in a hand of chancery style similar to that of XXVII 2475-6 (Pap. Agon. Pls. II-III), runs against the fibres, suggesting that this is a diploma in the *transversa charta*, double-document format: see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (1978) 26-53, esp. 28-45. In terms of the format, the closest parallel is P. Lond. III 1178 (p. 214) = Pap. Agon. 6, a boxer's rotulus-diploma of membership of the world-wide association of athletes, written in Naples with an 'outer text' (8-100) and a previously sealed 'inner text' (1-7) summarizing the 'outer text'. The 'outer text' consists in order of imperial decisions concerning the privileges of the members of the association, a circular letter from the association to its members notifying them of the enrolment, the dating formula, and autograph subscriptions by the officials of the association testifying to the recruitment. 5208, drawn up in Antinoopolis and textually paralleled by Pap. Agon. 1.14-16, 3.12-18, 4.15-19, 6.2-7, 37-48, contains parts of the letter and of the dating formula. Pap. Agon. 1.14-26, 3.12-33, 4.15-32 are copies of the circular letters of the diplomas. These copies are referred to as 'double-documents' (διπλή in Pap. Agon. 1.26, 3.33, 4.31) and incorporated into requests, written along the fibres and addressed to local municipalities, for acknowledgement of the privileges imperially granted to the members of the association.

The sequence of the two fragments is guaranteed by the parallel texts. In the combination printed below, the first six lines and much of the seventh are given by the upper fragment, the remainder by the lower. The original line length was about 25 cm, probably the original height of the roll. The position of the lower fragment within the column is given by 12-13: since in all the parallels *ἔρωσθε* comes immediately before *ἐτελέσθη* or the corresponding *ἐγένετο*, *ἐτελέσθη* is the first word of line 13, and *ἔρωσθε* (12) was followed by a long blank space.

In the transcription, <sup>v</sup> indicates a blank space approximately one letter wide.

ε11 ] [ ε11 ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] ε24  
 ε10 ο[κρο]ν[α]μ[ε]ν[η] λαμπρά μεγάλη σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης  
 περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τεχνιτῶν ἱερωνικῶν στεφανιτῶν  
 καὶ οἱ τοῦ[τῶν] συναγιστῶν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τε-  
 χνίταις ἱερωνικαῖς στεφανίταις<sup>v</sup> καὶ τοῖς τοῦ[τῶν] συναγιστῶν χλαίρειν.  
 γινώσκετε<sup>v</sup> νέμοντας ἡμῶν τὴν ἱερ[ᾶν] μουσικῶν ε17  
 ε10 ] ἦν [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] ε24  
 ε5 ] μουθὴν τὴν καὶ Καρπατιάδα ἀρχέρισσα[ν]  
 Αὔρη]λιον Καρπατιῶνα<sup>v</sup> ἱερωνικοῦ<sup>v</sup> ε22  
 .. καὶ ἀποδοκῶν[α]ν [ ] τὸ κατὰ τὸν νόμον βα[σιλικῶν] ἐντάγιον (θηνάριον) πᾶν καὶ τὰ  
 εἰς τοῦ[τῶν] Σεβαστοῦ ἱερὰ τελέματα πάντα ἐκ [πλήρους.<sup>v</sup> ἔγραψαμεν ὑμῖν  
 ἵνα εἰδῆτε.<sup>v</sup> ἔρωσθε.<sup>v</sup> ε21  
 ἐτελέσθη ἐν τῇ λ[α]μ[ε]ν[η] Αντι[ν]οπόλει ν[ε]φέων Ἐ[λλήνων] πόλει ἀγόνων ἀγομένων  
 numerals) [ε]ροσ[θ] [ε]τελαστ[ε]κου οἰ[κου]μενικοῦ ἰσολυμπίου τῶν μεγάλων Ἀντινο-  
 εἶων ε8 ] [ ε11 ] [ ε38

4 cswa: a enlarged 6 ἱερ[ᾶ] 9 ἱερο (discreas uncertain) 11 ἱερο

<sup>1</sup>... world-wide, splendid, great association of the performers from the whole world under the patronage of Dionysus and *divi Augusti*, victors in the sacred games, wearers of garlands, and their co-performers, to the performers from the whole world under the patronage of Dionysus, victors in the sacred games, wearers of garlands, and their co-performers, greetings.

<sup>2</sup>Know that...—*muthis alia Sarapias*, high-priestess... of Aurelius Sarapion, victor in the sacred games... is a member of our sacred, artistic... and that she has paid the royal entrance-fee in accordance with the law, 250 denarii, together with all the sacred contributions to the Augusti in full. We wrote to you so that you would know. Farewell.

<sup>3</sup>Executed in the splendid city of the Antinoeans, the new Hellenes, during the celebration of the... sacred, iselactic, global, isolympic games at the great Antinoean festival...'

<sup>2</sup> λαμπρά μεγάλη σύνοδος. λαμπρά is not attested elsewhere as an epithet of the association. Cf. 6-7 n. The traces at the beginning of the line are damaged and difficult, but 1<sub>1</sub> seems fairly likely.

The qualification ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης is applied to the στεφανίταις (nom.) at the opening of the letter in Pap. Agon. 3.12-13 and 4.15 (supplied). In Pap. Agon. 3.14 and 4.33 (both largely supplied), where εἰσόδος (nom. or gen.), precedes, we find τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν without ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης, but τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον... τεχνιτῶν follows εἰσόδος (in various cases) in inscriptions, e.g. SEG XLVIII 1844.1-3 (Arpame), IAPH2007.12.27 iii.2-4.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ οἱ τοῦ[τῶν] συναγιστῶν: nominative rather than genitive (cf. 4-5 τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης... καὶ τοῖς τοῦ[τῶν] συναγιστῶν), but other evidence from the Roman period indicates that the συναγιστῶν belonged to the association: cf. e.g. SEG XLVIII 1844.1-7; S. Anzeri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft* (2003) 318, 328-31.

6 γυναικεσσι] ἤμισσαν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξ[άμ]. Cf. γυναικεσσι δὲτα ἡμῶν εὐνοδέτην (Pap. Agon. 6.4, 41). For ἤμισσαν meaning 'be a member of', see Pap. Agon. 1.5 n.

6-7 π[ε]ρ[ι]τ[ε]ρ[ι]ε[ι]στ[ε]ρ[ι]ῆς is possible in 7; it would be the first letter contributed by the upper fragment (which could also be read as τ or 7), the preceding 1, being given by the lower fragment; χ], also given by the upper fragment, could be taken as λ. Before it, the text probably contained an adjective formed from an emperor's cognomen and οἰκουμένην: for the imperial title before περιπολιτικῆς, cf. Pap. Agon. 1.26, 3.34, 4.33. The papyrus may have had e.g. τῶν ἐξ[άμ] μουσικῶν imperial ἀδελφῶν | οἰκουμένην [περ]ιτ[ε]ρ[ι]ε[ι]στ[ε]ρ[ι]ῆς [αὐ]τ[ῶν] [ε]ξ[άμ]ων ἐξ[άμ]ων συνοδοῦ: cf. 2. That would leave space for about 6 letters at the end of the line: see next n.

7-8 Supply e.g. Ἀθήνησαν Θέρμωσαν: Θέρμωσις is by far the commonest female name ending in -μωσις.

8 ἀρχιρέσσα[ν]. Ἱερέσσα and ἀρχιρέσσα are familiar, but this form is not found elsewhere. This is the second piece of evidence for a high-priestess in Egypt, after P. Harr. I 69.22 (after 217; context obscure). It is also the only evidence for a high-priestess of the association of Dionysiac artists. This function of imperial cult is well attested in the Greek-speaking world outside Egypt. The bearer of the title is often the wife or, less frequently, the daughter of a high-priest; cf. I. Berouia 69.8 (in an agonistic context), I. Keramos 19.2, 20.2, I.Aph007 12.518.5-6. See G. Frija, *Les Prêtres des empereurs* (2012) 64-5, 82-8.

After ἀρχιρέσσα[ν], perhaps Ὀφειρηχίτηδα, though there is only one (partly restored) example of this word, in P. Stras. II 92.3 (944/943 BC). For the indication of citizenship following the title of the enrolled member, see Pap. Agon. 3.16.

After Ὀφειρηχίτηδα, we may further supply γυναικῶς or θυγατέρας. The filiation of the recruit is never indicated with υἱός in the parallels, but D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 277-82, observes that the use of υἱός and θυγατέρα for filiation in Roman times marks the prominent social standing of the fathers. Alternatively we could supply Μέλαρος to go with Ἀθήνησαν Καρπασίως in the next line.

9 Ἀθήνη. The gap at the start would not accommodate Μέλαρος Ἀθήνησαν. See also previous n. If the initial alpha was enlarged as in *εὐνομένησαν* (10), Ἀθήνη could fill the space.

Ἀθήνησαν Καρπασίως ἱερονίου. This man cannot be identified. Whether he was the husband or the father of the high-priestess (see 8 n.), he ought to have been a high-priest himself; ἀρχιερέως will have followed to the right.

10 τὸ κατὰ τὸν νόμον βασιλικὸν ἐπάγιον. The word order shows that βασιλικὸν in this phrase goes with ἐπάγιον rather than with τὸν νόμον: contrast Pap. Agon. 1.15 κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν βασιλικὸν ἐπάγιον where the repeated article indicates that βασιλικὸν agrees with νόμον.

(ἑτηρία) ♂ restored as in Pap. Agon. 1.15, 3.16 (previously read as (ἑτηρία) ων; see Pl. n.); cf. ♂ ἑτηρία ♂ in Pap. Agon. 4.17, 25 (restored), 27.

10-11 τὰ ἐκ τοῦδε Σεβαστοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐλέγματο. This is not a form found elsewhere, but there is already variation attested, Pap. Agon. 3.17 having τὰ ἐκ τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐλέγματο while Pap. Agon. 1.15-16 and 4.17 give τὰ ἐκ τὰς τιμῶν τῶν Σεβαστῶν (τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ) ἐπὶ τὸ ἐλέγματο; see Pap. Agon. 3.17 n.

11 πάντα ἐκ [πλήρου]. No 'all' with τὸ ἐλέγματο in Pap. Agon. 1.16 (suppl.), 3.17; Pap. Agon. 4 has πάντα (alone) at 18, and it has been supplied at 25 and 28, but wrongly to judge by the spacing Cf. πᾶν ἐκ πλήρου attached to the ἐπάγιον in Pap. Agon. 1.15, 3.16, 6.6, 43.

14 The exiguous initial traces may but need not belong to 1 or its diaeresis. If the decipherment is correct, the initial gap would be expected to have contained about 7 letters, but if the end of 13 is correctly restored, the ordinal number alone, three letters long, will have stood here. The number will have been generously spaced or accompanied by blank spaces. For the chronology of the great Antinoëa, see Pap. Agon. 4.17 n.

R.-L. CHANG

## 5209. CONTRACT TO LOSE A WRESTLING MATCH

22 3B.14/C(10-11)a

14 × 17.3 cm

23 February 267

The text of this contract to lose a wrestling match is complete except to the right where it is missing the second half of lines 1-6 and the last quarter of lines 7-18. The writing is along the fibres. The back of the papyrus was used later for a short account of payments to individuals. The hand is a practised cursive with some distinctive features: alpha beginning a word starts with a large ornate loop (also in Νικαντῶσφ in 8); so too initial lambda and mu have extended first strokes. Diaeresis is added over initial ι and υ (but once intervocalically: γαῖω in 4), always in the form of a superscript line with a hook; there is a rough breathing in 22. The string of peculiarities of syntax and grammar in the preface to and first part of the contract, and the variants from normal contractual terminology which follow, suggest that the scribe was not trained in drafting contracts.

The contracting parties are Aurelius Aquila alias Sarap—, the father of a boy wrestler called Nicanthinou, and Marcus Aurelius Lucammon and a Gaius Julius . . . , the latter acting through Aurelius Serenus, both guarantors of another boy wrestler called Demetrius. Aquila and Lucammon were Antinoites, but Gaius Julius, if he is to be identified with a known contemporary athlete called Gaius Julius Theon (see 4-5 n.), was an Oxyrhynchite, although the distinction may be slight granted that in this period several leading Antinoites and Oxyrhynchites were active in both cities. Serenus too was an Oxyrhynchite if he was the Marcus Aurelius Serenus also called Ptolemaeus, son of Serenus, who is attested applying in March 264 to the council of Oxyrhynchus for the privileges due to members of the Association of Dionysiac Artists of which he had just become a member and High Priest at the 135th Great Antinoëa (P. Oxy. Hels. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4). The inventory numbers of 5209 and P. Oxy. Hels. 25-22 3B.14/C(14)a + (15)a—reveal that the fragments of that application were found with or very near to this contract. Probably Serenus or Theon(?) had kept the guarantors' copy of this contract, together with other papers including some official documents, at Oxyrhynchus where they were eventually dumped.

The Antinoite origin of Aquila and Lucammon and the date of the contract suggest that it concerns the final match of the boys' wrestling at the 138th Great Antinoëa at Antinopolis (see Remijsen, p. 193). Demetrius has agreed with Nicanthinou to cede the match in return for 3,800 drachmas paid through his guarantors, which implies that they have already received the sum. If Demetrius plays his part but the judges decide not to award the crown, Demetrius is not to be sued for return of the 3,800 dr. If Demetrius contravenes the arrangement, his guarantors are to pay a penalty of 18,000 dr. to Nicanthinou. Clearly this is cheating, rather than some 'normal' match-fixing arrangement, for the possibility that the judges decide

not to award the crown (see 14 n.) is viewed as an undecidable embarrassment—'may it not happen'.

The contract is modelled on a *homologia*-agreement for sale in advance of delivery (cf. R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, 332 BC – 640 AD (1955) 336–8); two close parallels are P. Mil. II 52 (285) and P. Hamb. I 21 (315), which both, as it happens, involve previous victors at games. However, this contract inverts normal practice in that the person (Aquila) initiating the greeting and contract, probably because he had initiated the deal, is not the seller but the purchaser; hence the lack of the seller's normal subscript acknowledging receipt of the price. As 'boys', which implies they were teenagers, Nicantinus and Demetrius were too young to make a contract in their own names without a guardian. Instead, however, the contract is made for them, with Aquila acting on behalf of his son, while Demetrius is represented by two 'guarantors' (*ἐγγυηται*) who do not appear to be relatives and so were probably his trainers. Normally guarantors were required only for loans or appearances at judicial hearings (Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>3</sup> 411–14, 542 n. 31); using guarantors to act for a minor is a legal oddity prompted by the peculiar situation.

3,800 dr., which for comparison occurs in 276 also as the price of a donkey (P. Stras. III 139), seems rather little granted that since 264 the Antinoite games had been eiselastic (cf. P. Oxy. Helv. 25) and the winner should have been awarded a cash pension from his home town, if less than the 180 dr. per month current at Hermopolis (see Remijsen, p. 201). Furthermore, the penalty for non-delivery in sales in advance was typically double, sometimes one-and-a-half times, the price. Perhaps the total bribe had been 9,000 dr. (or 12,000 dr., equivalent to the 3,000 Attic dr. used in the Philostratus story below), of which Demetrius' guarantors and trainers were pocketing 5,200 dr. (or 8,200 dr.) for money they claimed to have spent or lent for his training.

This is the first known papyrological evidence for bribery in an athletic competition, although scattered references in Greek authors of the Hellenistic and imperial ages imply it was not uncommon. Pausanias' account (5.21, mid second century) of the Zanes, bronze statues of Zeus erected at Olympia from the fines imposed on athletes, records a handful of cases from 338 BC to AD 125, including the father of a boy wrestler of Elis bribing the father of an opponent in 12 BC. Other allusions specifically to fixed results in wrestling matches include Polybius comparing negotiations between Perseus and Eumenes to good wrestlers aiming to draw (29.8.9), and Philostratus saying that Nero's competitors on his Greek tour adopted the technique of *ὑποπαλιωτες*, 'wrestlers who fall' ([Luc.] *Neo* 8). Philostratus again recounts a specific case to illustrate the contemporary degeneration of athletics (*Gymnasticus* 45; 220s to 230s): 'A boy won victory in the Isthmian wrestling contest by agreeing three thousand (drachmas) to one of his opponents for the victory. When they came next day to the gymnasium, the latter asked for the money, but

the boy said he did not owe it because the other had resisted being beaten. Nothing was accomplished, so they resorted to an oath and went over to the Isthmian temple. The one who had given away the victory swore in public that he had sold the god's contest and had agreed three thousand for it, and he admitted this speaking in a ringing voice instead of keeping hushy silence.' Philostratus supposes bribery was rife in provincial competitions—though unknown, he claims, at Olympia—and blames the trainers, to whom his work is directed, 'who lend money to their athletes at greater rates of interest than the rates for maritime traders, and have no regard for the reputation of the athletes, but become their advisers on buying and selling with a view to their own profits' (only maritime loans were exempt from the Roman 12% limit on annual interest). *Dig.* 4.2.23.2 (Ulpian) also mentions athletes' careers being controlled by their creditors, and *Dig.* 22.2.5 pr (Scaevola) and 42.1.40 (Papinian) too refer to loans to athletes. Whatever the situation between Demetrius and his guarantors, this contract exemplifies the unsavoury practices which had concerned Philostratus.

In editing this text I have benefited from a preliminary transcription and translation made by Dr John Rea, and from comments made by him and others at the British Academy seminar.

Ἀθήρηλιος Ἀκύλας [δ] καὶ Σαρ[π] . . . ε.14 ἀρχι-  
 ιερεὺς τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀντινόου πόλεως καὶ ὡς χρηματίζου  
 Μάρκου Ἀθήρηλιου[ς] Λουκάμ[μων] ε.10 Ἀδριά-  
 νος ὁ καὶ Οὐλίπιος καὶ Γαῖου Τουλίου ε.6 , διὰ Μάρκου  
 5 Ἀθήρηλιου Σερήνου καὶ ὡς χ[ρηματίζε] ἀπ' Ὀξυρυγχῶν? πόλεως,  
 ἀμφοτέρους ἑγγυηταῖς Ἀθήρηλιου Δημητρίου ε.6  
 παλαιστοῦ χαίρειν. ἐπε[ὶ] [ε]υ[ε]θε[ρ]ε[ρ]ο[ς] τ[ῆ]ς [μ]ου Ἀθήρη-  
 λίου Νικαντιν[ίδ]ου ὁ [ἐ]γγυητά[μ]ενος ὄψ' ἡμ[ῶ]ν Ἀθήρηλιου  
 10 Δημήτριου ἀγωνιζόμενου[ς] τ[ῆ]ς [δ] τῶν παιδῶν παλαιστῶν?  
 ἀγωνίαια πεσεῖν τρεῖς καὶ παραχωρήσει [. . .] λαμ-  
 βάνοντι δι' ἡμῶν Ἀργυρίου παλαιού νομίσματος δρα-  
 χμᾶς τρισεκκ[α]σί[α]ς ὀκτακοσίας ἀκινδύνους, ἔπει τῷ ἐπ' ἂν,  
 15 ὃ μὴ εἴη, τοῦτου παραχωρησάμενος καὶ μὴ ἐνθ' ἔσσεται,  
 ἀφερθεῖν ὁ στέφανος, μὴ μετελεύθεσθαι αὐτῶν  
 περὶ τούτων, ἐπ' ἂν δὲ καὶ αὐτ[ῶ]ς ὁ Δημητρίου[ς] παρα-  
 βῆ τι τῶν ἐνγεγραμμένων καὶ τῶν συνθε[ρ]μένων  
 πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν νῦν μου, ὁμοίως ἐκτελεσει [τῶ]ν αὐτῶ  
 20 νῦν μου ἐπάναγκες ὑπὲρ λόγου ἐπηρείας ἀργυρ[ῶ]ν  
 παλαιού νομίσματος τέλαντα τρία ἄνευ τινὸς ὑπερ-  
 θέσεως καὶ εἰρηκλογίας κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐγγήρης δίκαιον διὰ  
 τὸ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμᾶς τὰς συνθήκας πεποιθέναι. ἡ ὀμο-



λογία κυρία δις ἐ γραφέει ἀντίτυπος ἧς ἔχον μοναχὸν  
καὶ ἡμεῖς μοναχὸν καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὁμολόγη(σα). (ἔτους) ἰδ  
Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Π[ο]ύληίου Λικινίου Γαλληροῦ  
25 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Περσικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐδοκίου Βύτιουχου  
Σερβαστοῦ, Μεχειρ κθ'. (σα.)

2 ἑρεκ 3 Ἰ. Μάρκιον Ἀδρήλιον 3-4 Ἰ. Ἀδρήλιον τῷ καὶ Ὀλυμπία  
4 γαίαι 6 ἐγ' ἑγνατῆς 8 [ε]γ' ἑγ' ὄφ 10 ἰ. τρίς 10-11 Ἰ. Λαμ-  
βάνου 11 ἕμων 12 Ἰ. τρεχίλιας 16 Ἰ. ἐγγυρηματίων 17 ἰων  
18 νία ἐπαναγ' ἐκείτηρ 19 ὄτηρ 20 ἐγ' ἑγ' 22 ἧς 23 ἡμεῖς  
ἐπερωτῆ ὁμολογῆ ἰδ 26 Μεχειρ: εἰ. corr. from η

<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Aquila alias Sarap[—patronymic, high] priest of the splendid city of the Antinoites [and however I am styled], to Marcus Aurelius Lucam[mon patronymic of the Hadriatic tribe and Olympian deme, and to Gaius J[ulius Theon(?) through Marcus] Aurelius Serenus and however he is styled, of Oxyrhynchus(?) city] both of them guarantors of A[urelius Demetrius . . .] wrestler, greeting.

<sup>2</sup> Since he has agreed with [my son Aurelius Nicanitinos—(he being) [Aurelius] Demetrius who has had himself guaranteed by you—when competing in the competition for the boy [wrestlers] to fall three times and yield, [. . .] receiving through you three thousand eight hundred drachmas of silver of old coinage free of risk, on condition that if—may it not happen—although he yields and does not [fall his part?], the crown is reserved as sacred, (we) are not to institute proceedings against him about these things, but if Demetrius himself contravenes any of the written terms and those he has agreed with my same son, likewise you are of necessity to pay as penalty to my [same] son on account of wrongdoing three talents of silver of old coinage without any delay or inventive argument, according to the law of guarantee, because of the fact that we have made a contract on these terms. The agreement is binding, being written in two duplicate copies, of which I have a single one and you a single one, and when formally asked I agreed.

<sup>3</sup> Year 14 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus, Germanicus Maximus, Pericus Maximus, Pius Felix Augustus, Mecheir 29.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No other attestation of an Aquila alias Sarap—is yet known.

<sup>3-4</sup> The name Lucammon, an unusual Latin-Egyptian hybrid, is a novelty of the third century, otherwise attested only in XIV 1679 21-2, a private letter concerning a well-off Oxyrhynchite family, and P. Oslo III 120.7, an early fourth-century tax list (the reading in P. Sijp. 12f.14 is very uncertain). Tribe and deme are typically specified in formal documents for Antinoite citizens who have held no civic post. The Olympian deme of the Hadriatic tribe also occurs in P. Diog. 9, P. Köln III 143, VIII 1110, PSI XII 1251 and SB XVI 12744 (171 to 252).

<sup>4-5</sup> A Gaius Julius cannot be the son of an Aurelius, so Serenus must be his representative. Neither, it seems, was given his patronymic, another oddity of this preface. The brief cognomen and the role of this Gaius Julius suggest identification with the contemporary athlete, or perhaps one of the two athletes, called Gaius Julius Theon. In March 273 the council of Oxyrhynchus solicited help in running the new Capitola in the 'amazing' Gaius Julius Theon, triple victor at the (probably Antinoite) Capitola and High Priest of the local branch of the Athletes' Association (P. Oslo III 85 = Pap. Agon. 8). In 298 a Gaius Julius Theon(?), son of Serenus, of Oxyrhynchus and Antinoopolis and other cities, aged 64, petitioned the Prefect for exemption from liturgies on account of his many victories and old age (5210). These may be the same man. Alternatively, the Theon of 273 may be the same man as the Oxyrhynchite (Gaius) Julius Theon alias Zoilus, son of Gaius Julius Alexander, who

registered for the privileges of the *ius trium liberarum* in March 272 (X 1264), some of whose descendants may appear in IX 1199 (probably 281). The Gaius Julius Theon(?) of this contract could fit in with either combination.

Although the name Serenus was relatively common among the elite, the Serenus here may be identifiable with the gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, and apparently a nominee for *zeugis*, attested in XII 1413 5, 9, 23 of 272 as well as, or possibly instead of, Marcus Aurelius Serenus in P. Oxy. Hels. 23 of 264 (see above, introd.). If, however, the Serenus here was an Antinoite, line 5 could be completed *ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως*.

<sup>6</sup> Either Demetrius' patronymic or perhaps *παῖδος* is expected in the lacuna.

<sup>7</sup> *κνήθεο* is an unusual verb to start a *homologia*-contract, but also occurs in BGU I 286.3 (306). The *ἔπει* here is unwanted: the contract needs a main verb on which the infinitives in line 10 depend.

<sup>8</sup> The name Nicanitinos ('victorious Antinous') is another third-century invention, presumably among athletic families at Antinoopolis; cf. the Antinoite victor Aurelius Heraclius alias Nicanitinos in XXVII 2476 19, 22 (= Pap. Agon. 3) of 288. Most of the other nine attestations are of the fourth and sixth centuries; the *LGPV* to date has no case of the name outside Egypt.

<sup>9</sup> *παλαστών* is expected (cf. Pap. Agon. 7.10, XLIII 3116 12-13 (= Pap. Agon. 10), XXVII 2477 6), but space is tight; possibly *πάλης* was written.

<sup>10-11</sup> Use of the dative *λαμβάνοντι* shows that the scribe is confusing the two boys and their roles.

<sup>12, 19</sup> Some twenty papyri of the 260s to 290s specify payment in 'silver of the old coinage' or, more fully, 'silver of the old Ptolemaic coinage', while around ten specify 'the new coinage', and a few mention both. The phrases seem not to refer to specific coins, but show a fear that either new or old coins might be devalued suddenly. See D. W. Rathbone, 'Monetisation, not Price-Inflation, in Third-Century A.D. Egypt?', in G. E. King & D. W. Igers (eds.), *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World* (1996) 321-39, at 326 n. 41, adding this text and P. Neph. 29 (with p. 3), P. Sijp. 17, PSI VII 841, SB XXIV 1820 (with 15901), and perhaps XVII 2136 and XXXI 2600.

<sup>14</sup> If a match was deemed a draw, the judges could either award two crowns or announce no victor and make the crown 'sacred', that is dedicate it to the appropriate deity; see N. B. Crowther, 'Resolving an Impasse: Draws, Dead Heats, and Similar Decisions in Greek Athletics', *Mikrologos* 13 (2000) 123-40, at 130-35, repr. in his *Athletika* (2004) 237-311, at 302-6. This contract suggests that a reason for awarding no crown might be that the judges suspected insufficient commitment to winning on one or both sides.

<sup>15</sup> *περὶ ῥότων* may refer specifically to the 3,800 dr.

<sup>20</sup> The phrase *κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἑγγῆς δίκαιον* is not otherwise attested in the papyri, but *κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀλληλεγγύης δίκαιον*, 'by the law of mutual guarantee', starts to appear in some slightly later contracts involving joint financial obligations on groups of people: SB XIV 12190.17-18 (297) and P. Cair. Isid. 88. [a], 89.10 and 97.13 (all 308); cf. P. Flor. III 384.34, 45 (489) and P. Cair. Masp. II 671.26.19, 48 (vii); see Taubenschlag, *Law* 303-6. Perhaps the inept drafter meant to signify that Lucammon and Theon(?) were jointly liable to the penalty on behalf of Demetrius.

<sup>21-3</sup> The phrasing of this clause is closer to third- and fourth-century practice at Hermopolis and Antinoopolis, as for instance in P. Fud Univ. 23.17-18 (283) ἢ ὁμολογία κυρία δις ἐ γραφέει ἀμότυπος πρὸς τὸ παρ' ἐκείνου ἡμῶν εἶναι μοναχῆ καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὁμολογήει. Oxyrhynchite clauses begin *κυρία ἢ πᾶσι* (or other contract type) and never say ἀμότυπος (the restoration in P. Laur. III 79.17 is unlikely). The use here of ἀμότυπος in place of ἀμότυπος is probably another non-expert error; in Egypt ἀμότυπος appears in the fourth century with the specific meaning of 'official copy'; see P. Turner 45.1 n.

## 5210. PETITION OF A SACRED VICTOR

49 5B.110/H(1-2)a

22.3 x 18.7 cm

298/9

This large sheet, complete on both sides, has suffered some damage at top and bottom, but no line is missing. It contains a copy of a petition, dated to 298/9, from Gaius Julius Theon(?) to the prefect Aelius Publius, requesting his confirmation that Theon is exempt from liturgies on the person both as a sacred victor and because of his old age. Below the petition, separated by a paragraph, is the 'signature' of the applicant (22) and, in the same hand and ink, the date of the petition (23). The main hand is expert, fluent and clear. A blank space one or two letters wide is sometimes left to mark a strong pause in the sense (3, 4, 11). A *kollesis* is visible about 10.5 cm from the left (it bisects the cross-bar of the tau of  $\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$  in 18). The back is blank.

The petition is of particular interest as one of the earliest texts to give Diocletian and Maximian the titles of *δεσπότες* and *βασιλείς* (see 16-17 n.), and especially for what it adds to the history of liturgic exemptions in Roman Egypt. Theon claims exemption from *ὀχλήσεις* ('troubles') and *μισθώσεως* ('contributions'), a heptadys for liturgic burdens on the person (see 5-6 n.), on the double grounds that he is a victor in sacred games (*τερονίκιος*) and that he is over 60 years old, the former as granted by 'the (general) laws' (3, 6) and the latter according to a decision of Diocletian and his co-rulers (6-9). To reinforce their case petitioners for liturgic exemption often adduced more than one ground; P. Wis. I 3 (c.256-9), for instance, cites athletic victories, old age, and poor eyesight. The package of exemptions from *munera civilia personalia*—liturgic and legal burdens on the person—and other miscellaneous rights claimed in the later third century AD by members of the Association of Dionysiac Artists is attested in three applications to the council of Oxyrhynchus; see P. Oxy. Hels. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4.1-2 (264) with Frisch's notes; cf. S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft* (2003) 242-52, for the Hellenistic background. In its response to one of these applications the council refers to *ἀτέλεια* according to the 'general laws' (BGU IV 1073 = Pap. Agon. 2.8-9, 16-17 (274)), which does not mean 'tax-exemption' altogether (land taxes, and perhaps the annual poll-tax, were not excused) but specifically the *leitourgiῶν δημοσίων ἀτέλεια*, the exemption from public liturgies on the person which was the primary interest of the applicants and civic authorities. The same package, more or less, had been granted since Hellenistic times to athletes victorious in sacred games. The fullest discussion, despite new evidence, is still M. Amelotti, 'La posizione degli atleti di fronte al diritto romano', *SDHI* 21 (1955) 123-56 (= *Scritta giuridici* (1996) 325-58); cf. Remijsen, pp. 199-204.

Theon's petition reflects restrictions to the rules recently made by Diocletian. P. Lips. I 44 (= M. Chr. 381, rescript only), a petition in Greek for liturgic exemption

datable to 324-37, cites a rescript in Latin by Diocletian and his co-rulers, datable by the Caesars to 293-304, in response to a petition of the association(s?) of athletes and artistic performers. The rescript, in addition to its lacunae, includes various errors and corrupt passages and a couple of deliberate gaps which suggest that the scribe had limited Latin and was copying from a badly damaged text. Diocletian says that, although he normally confirms without restriction privileges granted by his 'ancestors' (*parentes*), in order to stop specious claims by victors to *munera civilium personalium immunitas*, as the association requests, exemption is limited to those who have competed throughout their life and won at least [three?] crowns in 'noble' contests, including [one?] of those at Rome (i.e. the Capitoline games) or of 'ancient' Greece, or those with 'our approval(?)' whose full description is now irrecoverable, perhaps games to which emperors had granted status equal to the Capitoline or ancient Greek games (see 11-14 n.); other now largely illegible lines apparently qualified or added to these conditions. C7 10.54.1 records a similar response by Diocletian and the same co-rulers to a Hermogenes: 'Athletes are normally awarded the *civilium munerum vacatio* on these terms, if they have competed through all their life, and can prove they have been deservedly crowned with no fewer than three crowns of a sacred contest, including once either at Rome or in ancient Greece, without corrupting or paying off their rivals.' Mittelis (P. Lips. 44 introd.), followed by Amelotti ('La posizione' 151-3), took these as separate rulings because the addressees and some of the conditions differ, but Hermogenes may have been the governor of Asia attested c.286-305 (*PLRE* I p. 424) to whom the response might well have been copied, and the differences can be explained by the poor state of the papyrus text and the evident compression of the Code version, by whose time these contests were a historical curiosity; in fact the title 10.54 'For athletes' contains only this ruling. Even if they were separate rulings, the conditions should have been the same, as Mittelis noted, which Theon's petition confirms in that it seems to echo all the conditions from both versions: certainly a lifetime career (14-16 n.), and apparently several(?) victories in sacred contests (2 n.), winning victories by merit and being a victor at some special games (both 11-14 n.). It thus shows that Diocletian's response to the association must date from 293-8.

Diocletian's conditions look new in that they are not explicitly attested in earlier texts; as recently as 292 the council of Oxyrhynchus had excused a man from service as a judge in the Prefect's court on the bald assertion that he was a sacred victor (I 59). The requirement that the victories had been fairly won was presumably not new, at least in spirit, and earlier texts talk of winning deservedly (see 11 n.). How novel and restrictive the requirement was for at least one high-status victory depends for athletic victors on the unclear third category of qualifying games; for artistic performers, who had previously claimed exemption on the basis of admission to their association, it depends what the conditions for that admission had been. On the other hand, for performers a lifetime in competition was

feasible, whereas the documented careers of successful athletes in the first to third centuries had for obvious physical reasons rarely lasted beyond the age of thirty: see P. Gouss, *Griekse atleten in de Romeinse Keizertijd* (31 v. Chr. – 400 n. Chr.) (2009) 161–4. Amelotti ('La posizione' 152) assumed Diocletian meant 'lifetime' in the sense of physical capability, but if Theon was, as he claims, 64 in 298/9 and had competed under Diocletian, his career—in whatever discipline—had lasted into his 50s. So too the petitioner to unknown emperors for an official post as 'herald' in PSI XIV 1422 ii claims to be over 50 and to have spent 28 years as a competitor (*ἀγωνιστής*), presumably as a herald although the editor (Amelotti) assumed he was an athlete. This undated text, assigned in PSI XIV to the third century, must date, as Amelotti had earlier suspected ('La posizione' 153), to Diocletian: the herald is to serve the procuratorship of the Heptanomia, which replaced the *epistrategia* around 300 (see L 3573 introd.); addressing a petition of this local type to emperors implies their presence in Egypt, which points to Diocletian on his second visit in 301/2: cf. T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (1982) 55 (Constantine did not visit Egypt); the emperors' predecessors who reserved the heraldship for retired competitors are called 'ancestors' (*πρόγονοι*), as in P. Lips. 44 ii.5 (which, incidentally, shows that the post was originally herald to the epistrategus); the petitioner claims a lifetime career and victories in contests in the emperors' honour in almost exactly the same terms as Theon does here (11–14 n., 15 n.).

Liturgic exemption for old age in Roman Egypt is discussed most fully and recently by T. G. Parkin, *Old Age in the Roman World: A Cultural and Social History* (2003) 144–54. He concludes that over 70 was the standard requirement (for the poll-tax it was over 62, then 65 by the third century) up to at least 294, when it is attested in *CJ* 10.32.10, Diocletian's response on an individual case of a man aged over 70 addressed to his provincial governor. Parkin notes, however, that the petitioner in PSI X 1103.5–14 of 192–4, who says he is over 70, claims that previous prefects and procurators (meaning epistrategi?) have allowed exemption from liturgies to those over 65. A response by Constantine of December 324 to a petitioner aged 73 from Egypt, cited in SB XVI 12306 (= VI 889, mistakenly attributed to Diocletian; see Barnes, *New Empire* 234–6), confirms exemption from some kinds of fiscal exactions (the text is very fragmentary) for those over 60. It seems there may have been confusion between the different thresholds for exemption from poll-tax (the upper age limit for the capitation tax which replaced the poll-tax in Egypt in the 250s is unknown, as is that for the Diocletianic *capitatio*), liturgies and service as a councillor, and also variation between provinces: *CJ* 10.32.10 may not have applied to other provinces, at least when first issued, and Theon seems to distinguish Diocletian's concession on age from the 'general (empire-wide) laws' about sacred victors although, as we know, Diocletian had recently amended those too. The simplest interpretation of the available evidence is that in Egypt the normal threshold for exemption from liturgies had been 70 until, as Theon's petition now

tells us, Diocletian reduced it to 60, perhaps in 297 along with the introduction of *capitatio* (up to that age?), and that this was confirmed by Constantine. However, the common story of all the petitions in the papyri and the Codes is that officials under pressure to nominate liturgists often tried to ignore the rights to exemption rightly or wrongly claimed by some nominees, and that even those claiming exemption for old age tended to assert they were over 70 despite the supposed lowering of the threshold.

The text, translation and notes are in the main the work of Professor Maltomini. Professor Rathbone has contributed the historical parts of the introduction and the notes to 11–14 and 16–17.

Ἀλλῶ Που[βα]λῶ τῷ διαρχ[μοτάτῳ] ἐπαρχῶ Αἰγύπτου  
 παρὰ Γαῖου Τούλιου . . .]νος Σερήγου ἱεροῦ[ε]ί[ξ]ο]υ πλειστονέικου παραδόξου Ὁφουρηγίτου  
 καὶ Ἀντανόω[ι] καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν πόλεων πόλειτς. (vac.) νόμος αὐτοῖς καθολικός  
 καὶ τῆ εἰς περὶ [πᾶν]τα ἡμειρία τὴν θέσιν ταύτην ποιοῦμαι. (vac.) εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι παρὰ τῆς εἰς  
 5 φιλανθρωπίας τεύξομαι ἂν ἰκετεύω. ἱερ[ο]νίκας τοῖνυν μὴ ὑπάγεσθαι ἀχλῆςεν ἢ τις  
 συντελείας, ὡς οἶδα, διηρόρηται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀσάτους καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν  
 ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνστ[αν]τινίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ  
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων τοὺς ἐξήκοντα ἔτη βίου χρόνον κατὰγοντας ἀπο-  
 10 λυθέναι παντοίας πάσης συντελείας καὶ ἀχλῆςεν, ὡς ἄρα μοι τῶν ἐξ ἑκατέρου  
 μέρους ὑπαρχόντων δικαιομάτων ἐπίτεσθαι τι οὐδὲν ἔπειρον ἢ σύνψησον γενέσθαι  
 τὸ ἐν μεγαλείῳ. (vac.) ἱερονείκας τοῖνυν τυχῶν, ἐδόξεν μοι εὐπρεπῶς τοὺς ἱεροὺς  
 ἀγῶνας τοὺς ὑπὲρ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν δε[σ]ποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ  
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Μαξιμ[α]λίου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων  
 15 Καيسάρων ἀνεθέρματῃ. δεῖρο δὲ εἰς γήρας ἀφειμένον μετὰ τὴν ἀκμῆν  
 καὶ τὴν ἐν ἑαυτῇ πρὸς ἐμοῦ ἀκμῆν καὶ χρόνον [ . . . ]νος βίου ἐτῶν ἐξήκον-  
 τα καὶ τεσσαράν ὡς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον ἐμειρετε[ῖ]σθαι τῇ θεῖα διαγορε[ῖ]σει τῶν  
 μεγίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἐπιφ[αν]εστάτων Καيسάρων θε[ο]μ[α]ρ[τ]ῆσαι ὡς ἄνθρωπος  
 μέτριος καὶ ἀξίω, εἰ σου δοκεῖ τῇ τύχῃ, [ ε 14 ] οὐ [εἰ]πέ' ἀμφοτέρους τοῦτοι  
 20 μοι ἐπινοῦσθαι καὶ δι' ἱεράς σου ὑπογ[ρα]φῆς κλειθεῖαι ἔχ[ω]ν με τὸ ἀφαιρέσθαι  
 κατὰ τῆα τρόπον ἵνα καὶ αὐτ[ὸ]ς τυχῶν τ[ῆ]ς ἀπὸ σου εὐεργεσίας χάριτας τὰς μεγίστας  
 τῇ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ σου τύχῃ (vac.) [δ]μολογῆσω. (vac.) διευ[τ]ήξω. (vac.)  
 (m.2) Γάιος Τούλιος [ ε 7 ] . . . [ ] (vac.)  
 ἔτους εἴ [ ] (vac.)

2 γαιούσιῳ, ἱερο-, ὄφουρηγίτου 1 ἱερονέικου, πλειστονέικου, Ὁφουρηγίτου 3 1. πολίτου  
 5 ἰκετεύω, ὑπάγεσθαι 6 ὄπο (second) 10 ὑπαρχόντων 1 ἀλλεπείσθαι, σύνψησον  
 11 ἱερονείκας, τυχῶν, ἰερούς 1 ἱερονείκας 12 ὑπὲρ 14 1. ἀφειμένος 19 between  
 21 and 22, and ἱεράς, a short stroke at mid-height (accidental? an apostrophe?) ἱεράς, ὄπο- 20 ἵνα  
 22 γαιούσιου

'To Aelius Publius, *sir perfectissimus*, prefect of Egypt, from Gaius Julius Theon(?), son of Senus, sacred victor, victor many times, the amazing, Oxyrhynchite and Antinoitic and citizen of many other cities. I make this request to the general laws themselves and to your experience in all matters. I know well that I shall obtain from your humanity the object of my appeal. Now, that sacred victors should not be subjected to troubles or certain contributions has, as you know, been declared by the laws, as also it has by our masters Diocletian and Maximian the Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, that those passing a sixty-year span of life have been released from any contribution and trouble of any kind, so that of the existing justifications on both sides nothing else is somewhat lacking for me except that your Magnificence give his consent. Now, I am, as it happens, a sacred victor: I tied on the wreath gloriously and majestically at the sacred games for the victory and the everlasting perpetuity of our masters Diocletian and Maximian the Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars. Having arrived here at old age, after my prime and the training on my part during that time, and after a [total?]' lifetime of sixty-four years, so that according to this right: I am to benefit from the divine declaration of our greatest kings and most noble Caesars, I ask, being a person of modest means, and request, if it pleases your Genius, that [in accordance with your goodwill(?) you] not assent to me on both these grounds, and order through your sacred subscript that I may have freedom from trouble in some way, in order that I too, having experienced your beneficence, may acknowledge the greatest thanks to your unsurpassed Genius. Farewell!

(2nd hand) 'I, Gaius Julius . . .

'Year 15 . . .'

1 Aelius Publius was the first prefect of Egypt after the 297/8 revolt of Domitius Domitianus. He and Diocletian had been at Oxyrhynchus in May–June(?) 298 according to **XII 1416** (with Barnes, *New Empire* 54–5). By some time in 300 he was replaced by Claudius Cleopatrus (**XLVI 3301–3303** introd.). Aemilius Rusticianus, also attested in 298 apparently at Oxyrhynchus, was not the previous acting prefect but a deputy praetorian prefect (**XII 1469** n. 1; cf. **BL X 142**), presumably accompanying Diocletian.

2 Γαίωιο [Γαίωλιου] . . . [?ος; Θέω]νος? For other attestations of one or two Oxyrhynchite athletes of this period called Gaius Julius Theon, see **5209** 4–5 n. 1. *λεῖον[ε]ς*[α]ν. See **5211** ii 7 n.

*πλειστονικός*. According to R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 95 f. (= *Philologia* (1957) 499), this was an official title accorded only after a definite number of victories in certain specified contests, but see Gouvy, *Griekes allem in de Romeinse Keizertijd* 127–9. The combination of *λεπτονικός* and *πλειστονικός* was probably intended to imply that Theon had won the required three sacred victories, but does not prove it since *πλειστονικός* could include non-sacred victories.

*παράδοξος*. The meaning of the epithet is disputed. Against the opinion of Merkelbach, loc. cit. 94 f., that the title was not generally eulogistic but was reserved for persons who on one day were victorious in two different disciplines or age-groups, see the criticisms of Gouvy, op. cit. 123–6.

3 και ἀλλων πολλων πλειων ποθεινων: an honorific appellation of victors of games in Egypt (**XXVII 2476** = Pap. Agon. 3.32, 48 (288)) as well as in other parts of the Greek world (there are numerous epigraphic parallels).

*νόμος* . . . *επιβλεψέ*, as in Pap. Agon. 2.9 and 16–17 (274), means laws valid throughout the empire; cf. the docket on the verso of the copy of Diocletian's edict in P. Lips. I 44 ii [haec] *sententia ubique[que] servabitur*.

4 τῆς ἐξ ἐμῆ [ἐμῆ?] ἡμετέρας. Universalizing the qualities of the addressee of a petition was common, but *ἡμετέρας* is new to the repertoire in the Greek *παρηγο* and inscriptions. For the use of forms of *πάς* *ad captandam benevolentiam* in petitions, see J.-L. Fournet, *JHP* 28 (1998) 14 with n. 27.

τὴν δέξων ταύτην ποίωμαι. Cf. SB III 7205.4 (c.290–92) *ταύτην τὴν δέξων* . . . π., and P. Diog. 18.12 (225) *τῆρε τὴν δέξων* π.; also P. Har. I 63.4 (ii, but after 161) and SPP V 6.1 (266–82). εὐ οὐδ' ὄν. More often the petitioner says he is confident (*ἐπέμνω*) that the recipient will answer his requests; cf. P. Diog. 18.6–7, P. Cair. Isid. 67.4–5 (299), **I 71** 3–4 (503), P. Col. VII 173.4 5 (after 342; see **BL X 41**). These statements aim to stimulate the benevolence of the addressee.

5–6 ἀχλὺς αἰώνος ἢ τινα ἐντολέλαια. Cf. 9. ἀχλὺς and ἀνώχλις are standardly used to denote the 'trouble' of liturgies or legal summonses, normally specified in the genitive as e.g. in P. Mich. XIV 675 = SB XVI 12994.16 (241) τῆς τῶν λειτουργιῶν ἀνώχλις αἰώνος; cf. P. Lips. 44.1–5 (324–37) *ἐνοχλήσεια*. 5 ὑπάγεσθαι. For the meaning 'to be subject' to taxation or o. lra. cf. **VI 1119** 24, 28 (245); P. Panop. Beatty 1.371, 401 (298).

6 δεηθήσεται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων. Cf. P. Cair. Isid. 62.20 (297) *ταῖσθε γὰρ διαγορεύεται ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων* (normalized spelling).

δεσποτῶν. Cf. 12, and 16–17 n.

8 τοὺς ἐξήκοντα ἔτη βίου χρόνον κατάγοντας. The first occurrences of the use of *κατάγω* for computation of age are found in Vettius Valens in the second century; 4.9 *ἔκτα τὰς [κατὰ] γένεσιν λυ' ἔτη κατάγω*, 4.11, 4.30 *κατάγω τις ἔτη κτ'* (pp. 160.12 f., 168.19, 197.3 Pingree) etc.; cf. also Epiph. *Ana.* 110.5 *ἔκακ γονῆ τῶν ἰακωβῶν κατῶν ἔτος ἐξήκοντά*, *Ἡσπ.* 33.0.5 (ii 331–2 Holl), etc. *ἔξῃκοντα ἔτη* and *βίου χρόνον* appear to be in apposition (see **KO I** 205, at 15–16 here we have the construction with the genitive); alternatively, we could read *ἔξῃκοντα ἔτη*, to agree with *χρόνον*.

9–10 *ἔξ ἀνοχρῶν μέρας*: i.e. age and status as *λεπτονικός*.

10 ἀλλοτρεβαί τι οὐδὲν ἔτερον. The word order indicates that the adverbial τι modifies the preceding verb, not οὐδὲν.

*ἐπισημῶν γενέσεως*. Cf. **XXXIV 2711** 7 (271) and PSI V 452.23 (iv, first half); also **XXVII 2477** 12 (289) and **XVII 2110** 28 (370).

11 ἐδόξεως καὶ ἐπιπραξίας. Cf. SPP V 121 = Pap. Agon. 7.9 (268?) *ἐδόξεως καὶ ἐπιπραξίας*; **XLVII 3367** = Pap. Agon. 9.8–9 (272) *ἐδόξεως καὶ ἐπιπραξίας*. On *ἐδόξεως* see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 357–8. The phrasing also parallels *νομία ἀνοχρῶν* in **CJ** 10.54.1, and again asserts that Theon's victories were won 'unassisted' as required by Diocletian's edict.

11–14 *τοὺς ἑποικοὺς ἀγῶνας* . . . *ἀνεδράξῃμαι*. Cf. Athenaeus 9.28 (982B) *δὲ πρῶτος τῶν τῶν Ὀλυμπιακῶν ἀγῶνα ἀναδράξαι*.

The petitioner in PSI XIV 1422 ii.12–14 (c.301–2?; see above, introd.) also claims to have competed *ἐν τοῖς ἀγομαῖσι ἀγῶνων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς* and the same dedication is used of the pentetere Capitolia at Antinoopolis in Pap. Agon. 9.4–8 and those at Oxyrhynchus in **LXIII 4357** 4–7 (317). **XLIII 3116** = Pap. Agon. 10.8 (275/6) instead gives the dedication of the Antinoitic Capitolia as *ὑπὲρ νείκης ἐ[α]ἰ [ἐ]ξήμην κ]ρίματος* of the emperor. Epigraphic dedications *ὑπὲρ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς* of emperors, sometimes prefaced with *ὑπὲρ κυριαίας*, sometimes with a synonym for *αἰωνίου*, are common in the eastern provinces, with some too in the west, through the second and third centuries (PHI *Searchable Greek Inscriptions*), but an exact Latin equivalent is only attested once (*Epigraphische Datenbank Claus-Staby*): *pro salute et victoria et perpetuitate* (CIL III 2637, to Caracalla by a governor of Pannonia Inferior). The standard Latin dedication was *pro salute et aeternitate imperii*, to which the less popular Greek alternative *ὑπὲρ αἰωνίου κράτους* is closer. These two alternative forms of dedication may have been specific to Capitolia, that is, games granted equal status to the Capitoline games at Rome. The dedication of the Capitoline Games as refunded by Domitian in 85 is unknown, but Nero's pentetere predecessor was celebrated *pro aeternitate imperii* (Suetonius, *Nero* 11.2) or *ὑπὲρ δὲ δι' ἑτῆς κυριαίας τῆς τῆς διαμονῆς τοῦ κράτους* (Dio 61.21.1). Theon would then be claiming victory at one of the Capitolia in Egypt (see Remijnen, p. 193), which would support the idea that these were among the third category of high-status games specified in Diocletian's edict.

14–16 *δέσπο* δὲ . . . *τεσσάρων*. The syntax of the phrase is not immediately clear: [νομος

probably the ending of an adjective (or participle) agreeing with *βίωσι* ([τοῦ] πατρὸς ?), while ἀφαιρούμενον should stand for ἀφαιρούμενος. (Dr Henry takes it to be in agreement with *με* in 19.)

14 δέσπο. We would want a meaning 'now', but δέσπο of time signifies 'until now, hitherto' (LSJ s.v. II), which will not suit. Probably 'having arrived here (= at this point in my life, i.e. at old age'.

εἰς γήρας ἀφαιρούμενον. Cf. PSI 1422 ii.19-21 εἰ[τε] γὰρ ἦδη ὑπὲρ πενήκοντα ἔτη προβαίωσι τῆ ἡλικία καὶ εἰς γήρας τρέπομαι; P. Sakaon 40.12 (318-21) ἦδη εἰς γήρας μακρὸν ἐληλυθῆα.

15 ἀετίας is commonly used of professional 'training', including that of athletes and performers, as also in PSI 1422 ii.29-30, and P. Vindob. G 24715.8-9 (c.343), ed. F. A. J. Hoogendijk, *Pap. Congr. XXXV* (2012) 345-56; cf. 2477 6.

16 διαγορεύ[σ]ει. This is the first occurrence of the noun in the papyri, although the verb διαγορεύομαι, found in Ptolemaic papyri, re-appears under Diocletian: see above, 6 n.

16-17 The earliest precisely dated text to give Diocletian and Maximian the titles of δεσπότης (here in 6 and 12) and βασιλεῖς is P. Cair. Ited. 2.6-7 of 1 December 298: προστάγματι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνευθέτων βασιλέων (the standard phrasing). The two terms had occasionally been used informally of previous emperors. Their formal use began in citations of imperial decisions, as here by Theon and in P. Cair. Ited. 2, which suggests copying from the official preface to the decisions. It soon spread to the imperial oath, and from 307 to consular datings. For δεσπότης see D. Hagedorn and K. A. Worp, 'Von κόμης zu δεσπότης: eine Bemerkung zum Kaiserstitulatur im 3./4. Jhd.', *ZPE* 90 (1992) 165-72; also K. Maresch, 'Die Präsentation der Tetrarchie in den Papyri der Tetrarchenzeit', in D. Boschung and W. Eck (edd.), *Die Tetrarchie: ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation* (2006) 63-82.

17-18 ἀθροῦσες μέτροις. Reference by petitioners to their moderate condition is a *topos*; see A. Parathomas in E. Karamalengou and E. Makrygianni (edd.), *Μνημόβιβλος: Studies ... in Honour of J.-Th. A. Papadimitriou* (2009) 494.

18 A phrase such as [κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν] σοῦ would suit.

ἐ[πὶ] μ[ε] φθοραῖς: cf. 9-10 ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέτρον.

19 ἐχ[ε]ν με τὸ ἀπαρνούχλητον ἀπαρνούχλητος is common in the papyri, but the combination with ἔχειν only recurs in XXXVIII 2849 22 (96f) πρὸς τὸ δόνασαι με τὸ ἀπαρνούχλητον ἐχ[ε]ν[αι].

21 τῆ ἀντερβλήτων σου τέρχ. This is the first occurrence in the papyri of ἀντερβλήτων with τέρχ, but it is found three times in Vettius Valens: 4.11, 6.2, 9.2 (pp. 166.20, 233.22, 319.2 Pingree).

22 [ c.7 ] . . . [ For the *copist* see above, 2 n. At the right-hand edge of the break, there is a low trace, then a curve open to the right and joining a trace suggesting the top of an upright. Two uprights follow, of which the first is slightly turned forwards and the second rightwards. Neither the expected ἐπέδεδωκα nor *Cerifron* can be read.

23 The text must have run 'Year 15 of Diocletian, 14 of Maximian, and 7 of the Caesars', but there is more than one way in which this could have been worded.

F. MALTOMINI / D. W. RATHBONE

## 5211. LOAN OF MONEY

96/g(a)

21.7 × 26.6 cm

27 February 303

An uncut duplicate document preserved in eight main pieces. The writing runs parallel to the fibres and the back is blank. The left half is less well preserved than the right. The papyrus was folded from left to right. There are seven roughly equidistant creases along the length of the papyrus that produce long vertical

cracks along which pieces have broken off on the left-hand side. There is ample space below the subscription (9.6 cm deep). The intercolumnium measures 1.5 cm.

A certain Aurelius Euporion, sacred victor from Oxyrhynchus, grants a loan of 3 talents and 2,160 drachmas to Aurelius Heras, comarch of the village of Taampemou. The sum has been signed for on 3 Phamenoth (27 February) and is due back on 30 Pharmouthi (25 April). No interest formally accrues during this period, but there is an indication that the capital hides a usurious rate of interest (see 10 n.). Should the loan not be returned on time, Heras is to pay the stipulated interest of 1% per month.

The *ἱερονίκης* Euporion is new. Heras son of Paapis is identifiable in a published document, although he is not explicitly designated as a comarch there (see 3 n.).

col. i

ἐπὶ ὑπὲρ[των τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτο]κρατόρων  
 Διοκλητ[η]ρι[ου] τὸ η' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ζ' [C]εβαστῶν.  
 Αὐ[τ]ή[ρ] ἡλιος Ἡράς Παπίσιος μη[τ]ρ(ὸς) Ταμοῦνιος ἀπὸ κόμητος  
 Ταυαπεμο[υ] τῆς πρὸς ἀπληύων τ[ο]σ(αρχίας) τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχί-  
 5 [του] νομοῦ κή[ρι]μαρχος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος; ἰθ' καὶ ἡρ  
 καὶ ἰαν (ἔτους) Αὐ[τ]ή[ρ] ἡλι[ω] Εὐπόριον Αἰφύγχ[ι]ο[ς] ἀπὸ τῆς  
 λαμ[π]ράς καὶ λαμ[π]ροτάτης; Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλ[ε]ως ἱερονί-  
 κῆ[ρ] χαίρειν. ὁμολ[ο]γῶ ἐχρηκέαι παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χρήσι  
 10 διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου ἀργυρίου Σεβαστ[ο]ῦ ν[ο]μοίματο[ς]  
 τάλαντα τρία καὶ δραχμὰς διςχιλίας ἑ[κατ]ῶν ἐξήκοντα,  
 γ(ῖνonta) (τάλαντα) γ (δραχμὰ) Ἐρᾶς, ἄπερ ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώ[σ]ει σοὶ ἕως λ' τοῦ  
 Φαρμουθι μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστώτος [C]η' καὶ ἡρ καὶ ἰαν (ἔτους)  
 ἀνε πάσης ὑπερβέσεως καὶ εὐρησελογίας, εἰ δὲ  
 15 μῆ, ἐκτίσι σοὶ τοῦ ὑπερβέσόντος χρόνου τόκον  
 τὸν σταθέντα ἐκάστης μᾶς τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκ[α]ίστου,  
 γυνομένης σοὶ τῆς πρῆξεως παρὰ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων. κύριον τὸ χιρόγραφον  
 20 διςσὸν γραφέν πανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παν-  
 τῆ γῶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆσι ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 ὁμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ἰθ' καὶ (ἔτους) ἡρ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν  
 Διοκλητῆαν καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ (ἔτους) ἰα (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων  
 ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν  
 ἐπιφανεστῶν Καίσαρων, Φαμενοῦ γ.  
 (m.2) Αὐρήλιος Ἡράς Παπίσιος ἔσχον ἐπὶ χρήσι  
 25 τὰ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τρία καὶ δραχμὰς

δικυλίας ἑκατόν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἀποδώσω  
ὡς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὁμολόγησα.  
Ἀυρήλιος Σερήνος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότες  
γράμματα).

## col. ii

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἀντοκρατόρων  
Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ πρ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ζ' Σεβαστῶν.  
Ἀυρήλιος Ἡρόδ Παάπιος μη(τρὸς) Ταμοῦνος ἀπὸ κώμης  
Τααμπειοῦ [τ]ῆς πρὸς ἀπηλωτῶν τρη(αρχίας) τοῦ Ὀξυρυγ(χίτου)  
νομοῦ κώμ[α]ρχος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἰθ καὶ πρ κα[ι] ἰαν (ἔτους)  
Ἀυρήλιω Εὐπ[ο]ρίωνι Ἀφύγχιος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ  
λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγγιῶν πόλεως ἱεροῦς χαιρέων. ὁμο-  
λο[γ]ῶ ἐσχη[ν]εῖν παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χι[ρ]ήσι διὰ χι[ρ]ῶς) ἐξ οἴκου  
σου ἀργυρ[ο]ῦ) Σεβαστοῦ ἡ[ν] ἰ[ο]μίματ[ο]ς τάλαντα τρία  
καὶ δραχμάς δικυλίας ἑκατόν ἐξήκοντα, [γ(ίνονται)] (τάλαντα) γ (δραχμαί) Ἐρξ',  
ἀπερ ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω σοι ἔως λ' τοῦ [Θ]ρρημου-  
θι μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἰθ καὶ πρ καὶ ἰα[ρ] (ἔτους) ἄν-  
ευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ [ε]ῖρησιλογίας, εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
ἐκτίσι σοι τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου τόκους τῶν  
σταθῆντα ἐκάστης μνάς τοῦ μηνὸς ἐξάκτου, χιρομέ-  
νης σοι τῆς πράξεως παρὰ τε ἐμοῦ [καὶ] ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
χόντων μοι πάντων, κέρσιον τὸ χιρ[δ]ραφον διεσόν  
γραφεὶν πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπ[ε]ρ  
σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὁμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ἰθ καὶ  
(ἔτους) ἰη τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητριανοῦ καὶ  
20 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ (ἔτους) ια' ((ἔτους)) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν  
Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν  
ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων, Φαμενοῦ γ.  
(π.2) Ἀυρήλιος Ἡρόδ Παάπιος ἔχω ἐπὶ χιρήσι τὰ τοῦ  
25 ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τρία καὶ δραχμάς δικυλίας  
ἑκατόν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἀποδῶξω ὡς πρόκειται  
καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὁμολόγησα. Ἀυρήλιος Σερήνος  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότες γράμματα).

## col. i

|                    |                                     |             |                  |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|------------------|
| 1 ὑπα[τ]ρων        | 4 π of Τααμπειοῦ corr. from ν, [το] | 1 Τααμπειοῦ | 4 5 Ὀξυ-         |
| ρηγ[χ] [του]       | 6 ια[ρ], Ἀφύγ[χ] [ιο]ς              | 7 λαμ[δ]    | Οξυρυγ[χ] [του]  |
| 8 εν corr. from εκ | 1 χρήσει                            | 9 λ. χειρός | 11 γ[ε]γ[γ] Ἐρξ' |
|                    |                                     |             | 12 ια[ρ]         |
|                    |                                     |             | 13 ὑπερ-         |

|            |                 |           |               |               |                  |
|------------|-----------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| θεσεως     | 14 ὑπερπεσόντος | 1. ἐκείνω | 17 ὑπαρχωντων | 1. χειρδραφον | 19 ὑπερ,         |
| ὑπο        | 1. ἐπερωτηθῆς   | 20 L. bis | 21 Λα[ρ]      | 24 λ. χρήσει  | 27 λ. πρόκειται, |
| ἐπερωτηθῆς | 28 Λα[ρ], υ[τ]  | 29 γρα[φ] |               |               |                  |

## col. ii

|          |                     |                 |                  |                      |                 |
|----------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 3 μη     | 4 τρη?              | 1 Τααμπειοῦ     | 5 ια[ρ]          | 6 Ἀφύγ[χ]ιος, λαμ[δ] | 7 λαμ[δ],       |
| ἰεροῦς   | 8 λ. χρήσει, χειρός | 10 Ἐγ[γ]β[ε]ρ'  | 11 επαργυ[ρ]εος  | 12 ια[ρ]             | 13 ὑπερ-        |
| θεσεως   | 14 ὑπερπεσόντος     | 1. ἐκείνω       | 16-17 ὑπαρχωντων | 17 λ. χειρδραφον     |                 |
| 18 ἔρ    | 19 λ. ἐπερωτηθῆς    | 19, 20 L        | 21 Λα[ρ]         | 24 λ. χρήσει         | 26 λ. πρόκειται |
| 27 Λα[ρ] | 1. ἐπερωτηθῆς       | 28 υ[τ], γρα[φ] |                  |                      |                 |

<sup>1</sup>Under the consuls our lords Imperatores Diocletianus for the 8th time and Maximianus for the 7th time, Augusti.

<sup>2</sup>Aurelius Heras son of Paapis, his mother being Tamounis, from the village of Taampemio in the Eastern Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, comarch of the current year 19 and 18 and 11, to Aurelius Euporion son of Aphynchis from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, victor at the sacred games, greeting I acknowledge that I have received from you a cash loan out of your own house in imperial silver currency of three talents and two thousand one hundred and sixty drachmas, in total 3 talents 2,160 drachmas, which I shall pay back to you on compulsion by the 30th of the month Pharmouthi of the current year 19 and 18 and 11 without any delay and excuse; and if not, then I shall pay to you interest for the period overdue set at (one drachma per) each mina for each month over, and you have the right of execution against me and all my property. This chirograph, written in duplicate, is authoritative wherever presented and for whoever presents it on your behalf, and I have been asked the formal question by you and have given consent. Year 19 and year 18 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 11 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus most noble Caesares, Phasmenoth 3.

(and hand) I, Aurelius Heras son of Paapis, received the three talents of silver and two thousand one hundred and sixty drachmas in a loan, and shall pay them back as mentioned above. I have been asked the formal question and have given consent. I, Aurelius Serenus, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.

## col. ii

<sup>1-2</sup>The scribe diverges from the more regular consular formula of 303 by adding Ἀντοκρατόρων ἀπὸ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν and placing Σεβαστῶν at the end, both of which are usually omitted. This, however, is not unprecedented (cf. LIV 3727 1-3, P. Wisc. II 61.1) and becomes the standard format for the following year 904; see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CSBE* 174-5.

<sup>3</sup>Ἀυρήλιος Ἡρόδ Παάπιος. A Heras son of Paapis from the same village is mentioned in XIV 1747 33-4 (π[ι/π]). The document lists villages by toparchy and names one or two individuals under each village; the editors take it to be a list of persons questioned or nominated for public service. XXIV 2421 67 (c.912-23; BL VIII 257) mentions a Παάπιος Ἡρόδος in an account of payments in grain. Given the practice of naming the eldest son after his grandfather, he may be the son of the comarch Heras.

<sup>4</sup>Τααμπειοῦ. On this well attested village in the Eastern Toparchy (modern Tanbu), see A. Beausais, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Version 2.0, 2012) 364-6. Its comarchs are mentioned in four other documents: XII 1421 (m), XLVIII 3409 (v), 3423 (v), and L 3584 (v).

<sup>5</sup>κώμ[α]ρχος. While two is the most widely attested and standard number of comarchs per village in the late third and early fourth century (cf. H. Müller, *Der Komarch* (1970) 18-42; N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (1997) 35), it is not explicitly stated whether Heras was a, or

the, comarch of Taampemou. Nevertheless, if Heras was taking out the loan in an unofficial capacity, there would be no need to mention the other comarch(ē). The instances cited in 4 n. all mention the comarchs of Taampemou in the plural.

τοῦ ἐπεστάτου ἐν καὶ ἀγ. κα[?] τῶν (ἐπ.ουκ). In this period the comarch took office at the beginning of the Egyptian year on 1 Thoth (29/30 August); see D. Delia, E. Haley, *BASP* 20 (1983) 39 n. 2. It is uncommon for the year of a current comarchy to be specified when other dating clauses are present; cf. P. Col. X 281.2 (Ars.; 287), P. Cair. Isid. 58.2-3 (Ars.; 315).

7 *ἑρσιονία*. On the term see P. Gouw, *Griekse atleten in de Romeinse Keizerrijk* (2009) 118-19, and S. Remijsen, *ZPE* 177 (2011) 97-109 (cf. also p. 192 in this volume). Victory in the ephebic games at Oxyrhynchus gained one the right to the postnominal title *ἑρσιονίας ἀπὸ/ἐξ ἐφηβείας* or τῶν ἀπὸ/ἐξ ἐφηβείας *ἑρσιονίας*, e.g. BGU IV 1093.2 (265), P. Coll. Youtie II 67.5 (260/61), SB X 10216.4 (111/17). The inclusion of ἀπὸ/ἐξ ἐφηβείας was crucial to distinguish the youth victor from those who continued their athletic career at greater regional or imperial venues. Thus, as far as Euporion is concerned, not much can be inferred from the title *ἑρσιονίας* alone. For the ephebic games at Oxyrhynchus, see above, 5206 introd.

9-10 τὰ[?]τα . . . ἐξήκοντα. The sum is not insubstantial based upon prices from around the time: in 302 a camel cost 9 talents (P. Grenf. II 74); the price of a donkey varied over the course of 305-9 between 5 and 15 talents (XLIII 3143 (305), SB I 5679 (307), P. Berl. Leihg. I 21 (309)); and in 309 bath attendants received a salary of 2,000 dr. per month (XII 1499); see R. S. Bagnall, E. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 116. At a rate of 3 artabas to 10 *modii castrenses*, if the price of wheat in Diocletian's edict is assumed and interest deducted from the loan (see below), Heras could have bought approximately 13.5 art. (= 2409 kg).

It is worth noting the absence of any explicit statement to the effect that the loan is free of interest. The total amount of the loan is 3 talents and 2,160 dr., the latter part of which is somewhat suspect in its exactitude. Given that 12% p.a. was the maximum legal interest rate, it is clearly relevant that 2,160 is precisely 12% of 18,000. Since the loan is for a period of two months, the annual interest rate comes to 72%. One might conjecture from this that Euporion was confident that Heras would pay the loan back on time, but still wanted to get the full value of the agreement and therefore charged a whole year's worth of interest in two months. We may suppose that Heras was to use the money in business expecting a profitable return.

19-23 The year of Diocletian is off by one from Maximian's, since Maximian assumed imperial power the year after Diocletian, who did so in 284. Maximian did not receive the same regnal year count as Diocletian until December 303, when Diocletian made both regnal years 20; see CSBE<sup>2</sup> 43-4.

M. EAGER

## 5212. ORDER TO SUPPLY MEAT TO MIME-ACTORS

105/143(a)

17 × 5.5 cm

Fifth century

This and the following item are orders to supply meat to personnel employed by the circus: mimes (5212) and athletes (5213). Both orders are addressed to Apollonius, butcher. 5212 is issued by a certain Philoxenus; there is no such indication in 5213. Both texts presumably refer to the same butcher, though it should be noted that they were not found together: 5212 was excavated or received preliminary conservation at Bahnasa on 18 March (1903?) and 5213 on 23 January (1904?).

## 5212. ORDER TO SUPPLY MEAT TO MIME-ACTORS 179

The text is written along the fibres on the verso of the original roll. Back blank.

Φιλόξενος Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγίρ(ω) χ(αίρειν).  
παράσχου τοῖς μίμοις κρέως λίτρας δέκα, (γίνονται) κρέ(ω)ς λί(τρα)ι ι μ(όνα).  
Χοῖακ ββ. (m. 2?) ὁ αὐ(τὸς) σεσημ(είωμαι) κρέ(ω)ς λί(τρα)ς δέκα μ(όνα)ς.

1 μαγίρ(ω) 1 μαγίρ(ω) 2 / κρ λι ι δκ 3 αυ//σεσημ κρ λι δκ

<sup>1</sup>Philoxenus to Apollonius, butcher. Supply ten pounds of meat to the mime actors, total 10 lbs of meat only.

<sup>2</sup>'Choiak 12.' (end hand?) 'I, the said person, have signed for ten lbs of meat only.'

<sup>1</sup> Φιλόξενος. The name is so common in Oxyrhynchus that there is no need to identify this person with the *vir spectabilis* of this name (see *Tsche* 17 (2002) 90), though he was clearly a person of some standing.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγίρ(ω). Cf. 5213 t. Not known otherwise.

<sup>3</sup> μίμοις. See 5215 s n.

<sup>3</sup> Choiak 12 = December 8/9.

N. GONIS

## 5213. ORDER TO SUPPLY MEAT TO ATHLETES

100/198(a)

8.1 × 7.6 cm

Fifth century

The text is written along the fibres on the back of a sheet cut from a larger document, of which there are only exiguous remains (an account?).

Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγίρ(ω)  
δὸς τοῖς ἀθληταῖς  
κρέως λίτρας δύο.

1 I μαγίρ(ω)

<sup>1</sup>To Apollonius, butcher. Give two pounds of meat to the athletes.'

<sup>2</sup> ἀθληταῖς. There is only one other explicit reference to 'athletes' in this period, in the circus programme P. Bingen 128.8 (implied in XXXVI 2707 13); see P. Bingen 128.8 n.; S. Remijsen, "Blushing in Such Company?" The Social Status of Athletes in Late Antiquity, in D. Brakke et al. (edd.), *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (2012) 199-209, esp. 205 ff.

N. GONIS

## 5214. LEASE(?) OF A ROOM

82/43(d)a

9 × 3.3 cm

Sixth century

A fragment from the middle part of what seems to be a lease of a room in the *ἀμφοδὸν Πραιτωρίου*, a quarter of Oxyrhynchus not attested previously (see 1–2 n.). The location of the property is further specified as being 'in the street of the cellar of the mime-actresses', which is also new.

The writing is along the fibres. There is a *kollesis* 1.3 cm from the right-hand edge. The document was rolled up from right to left and pressed flat.

τῆς πόλεως ἐπ' ἀμφοδῶν  
 Πραιτωρίου ἐν τῇ βέμῃ τῆς  
 ἀποστάσεως τῶν μιμητῶν  
 δλόκληρον ἀνάγων τόπων  
 ...[ ] [ ]

Back, downwards, along the fibres:

] c ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν

3 l. μιμητῶν

'... city in the quarter of the Praetorium in the street of the cellar of the mime-actresses, a whole room on the upper floor...'

Back: '... from the (city) of the Oxyrhynchites...'

1 τῆς πόλεως would have been preceded by *ἐπὶ ταύτης* or *ὀχέε*.

1–2 ἐπ' ἀμφοδῶν Πραιτωρίου. This quarter of Oxyrhynchus has not been attested previously, but recurs in 5 I.B.39/C(d), a loan of 520, to be published in a forthcoming volume.

The praetorium at Oxyrhynchus at the time will have been the residence and headquarters of the *praeses* of Arcadia; the other Oxyrhynchite references from this period are XLIII 3150 14–15 (v17), and XVI 1921 3 (621). See generally A. Łukaszewicz, *Les Édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine* (1986) 177–8; F. Mitthof, CPR XXIII 19 introd. (p. 112).

ἐπ' ἀμφοδῶν... ἐν τῇ βέμῃ. Such references are fairly common in documents from Hermapolis, but in that city the number of *amphoda* was limited. From Oxyrhynchus, the closest parallel comes from PSI VI 708.8–9 (436) ἐπ' ἀμφοδῶν Παρμίνους παραβόλου ἐν βέμῃ Ψάλλου καλουμένου (l. η); cf. also P. Laur. IV 164.8–9 (iv/v) ἐν τῇ βέμῃ Λαυτάδος δλόκληρον. For other βέμαι in Oxyrhynchus, see *Dic. geogr.* Suppl. iii 102–3.

3 μιμητῶν. l. μιμητῶν. For the gemination of *tau*, see Gignac, *Grammatr* i 157–8. The word is known from inscriptions and literary sources, but has not occurred in any other papyrus. It is first attested in the late second or early third century; see J. H. Starks, 'Pantomime Actresses in Latin Inscriptions', in E. Hall, R. Wyles (edd.), *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (2008) 110–45, at 115. On mime actors see 5215 5 n., on mime actresses in particular, see E. Ferl, *Von Mimen, Miminien und*

*Insichten Mähdchen: Die Schauspielerinnen in der römischen Antike* (2005); also R. Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (2008)

4 ἀνάγων ἀνάγων; cf. e.g. PSI VI 709.16–17 (566) ἴκνον... ἀνάγων. On the term see G. Hussou, *OIKIA: Le Vocabulaire de la maison priée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (1983) 40.

N. GONIS

## 5215–5218. CIRCUS PROGRAMMES

Each of the following four papyri contains a list of items that were, or were part of, a programme of entertainment, which probably took place in the hippodrome or circus in Oxyrhynchus. Three such programmes have been published to date: XXXIV 2707, P. Bingen 128, and P. Harrauer 56, the provenance of the latter two being unknown. P. Bingen 128 has been dated to the late fifth or sixth century; 2707 and P. Harrauer 56 to the sixth. The papyri edited here are not objectively dated: to judge by the similarity of content and hands they are probably also from the late fifth or sixth century.<sup>1</sup>

5215, like the three previously published papyri, commences with an invocation to good fortune and a display (or possibly an acclamation) of victory. It is followed by a procession, as in P. Harrauer 56, which lists no races. In 2707 and P. Bingen 128 the victory display is followed by a chariot race, and then by a procession. The 'proper' place for the procession of horses was before the first race: Const. Porph. *De cer.* II 153.16 V. (P. Bingen 128.4 n.). There may have been another procession at 5215 6. None of these opening events is listed in the surviving parts of 5216, 5217, or 5218.

2707 and P. Bingen 128 include a number of races, with entertainments of the type which we call 'circus acts' between them, possibly intended to distract the crowd while the track was cleared for the next race; 5216 similarly lists at least one and possibly two races, with intervening entertainments. 5215, 5217, 5218, and P. Harrauer 56, insofar as they can be read, list only entertainments and no races. Such programmes may show that these types of entertainment took place without

<sup>1</sup> G. Tedeschi, *Intrattenimenti e spettacoli nell'Egitto ellenistico-romano* (2011), has updated texts of the three published papyri on pp. 137–9 (his documents nos. 76–8). In relation to this sort of entertainment see generally A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (1973) 227–32, 235–7; Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (1976) 193–229, 316–17; J. Gascou, 'Les institutions de l'hippodrome en Égypte byzantine', *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212 = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 51–71; C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* (1993) 1–79; R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (1993) 92–105; W. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (2001) 202–18; J. Nélis-Clément, 'Les métiers du cirque, de Rome à Byzance: entre texte et image', *CCG* 13 (2002) 265–309, esp. 296–7; D. S. Potter, 'Entertainers in the Roman Empire', in Potter and D. J. Mattingly (edd.), *Life, Death and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (2010) 380–349.



racing even in a town with a hippodrome, possibly because they were cheaper to produce; alternatively the day's events may have been separated into different types of activities, as in Constantinople in the twelfth century (Niketas Choniates, *Hist.* X 3.18.301–8 (van Dieten p. 290), describing events in 1184, when the racing and athletics were concluded before the rope-dancing and hunt: I am grateful to Dr Sofie Remijsen for this reference), with in the case of P. Harrauer 56 the circus acts preceding the racing. See P. Harrauer p. 203.

The programmes contain words not otherwise attested in papyri: ἀγλατον (meaning unknown) in 5216 and γυροσκαίρις and ἡθολόγοι in 5217. In addition, βολή (5218 fr. 2.1) and the undeciphered words at 5218 fr. 1.4, fr. 2.2, and fr. 4.1–2 are new to this type of document. The evidence for the usage of these and other terms used in the circus programmes, such as βολυκάλοι (2707 5, 7, 5215 9, 5217 2, 5218 fr. 1.3) and καλοπαίκτηι (2707 5, 7, P. Bingen 128.5, P. Harrauer 56.4), comes from a variety of sources over a considerable time-span, suggesting that these acts did not change significantly over long periods of time.

There is no consistency across the seven programmes in the use of nominative or accusative, or singular or plural. There has been some discussion as to whether in relation to a mime the use of the singular means a single performer; in 2707 11, the plural is used, and at P. Bingen 128.6 n. the editor suggests that the singular term might mean the spectacle rather than the artist. Mimes are usually referred to in the plural, but there are papyri in which payments are made to single artists, like III 519 3 (ii) and VII 1050 25 (ii/iii). See P. Harrauer p. 203 for other references. None of these programmes contains both singular and plural of exactly the same type of performer, but 5217 has a singular mime and plural ἡθολόγοι, a type of mime artist (see 5217 4 n.), and 5215 also has a mixture of singular and plural. In the case of mimes, the plural in 2707 11 may indicate a competition.

The generous layout of the seven papyri suggests that they may have been created to be handed round or pinned up. 5215 is subscribed, as is 2707, to which it is closest in style, and which, as the editor suggested in the introduction, may have been a copy of a public notice that had to be seen and approved by a second person, possibly passed from one municipal official to another. We cannot tell if any of the others had a subscription; all may have. Such programmes may have been distributed before the performance, perhaps as invitations, in which case the signature on 2707 (and 5215) may have been greetings from the sender (P. Harrauer p. 204). Alternatively they may have been used by the master of ceremonies or impresario in charge of ensuring that the various acts came on at their appointed times. Each programme is written in a different hand.

The papyri do not show the venue for the events. Oxyrhynchus had both a hippodrome (probably just outside the city to the north) and a theatre (in the south-west quarter).<sup>1</sup> Shows without chariot-racing may have used the theatre; in

<sup>1</sup> See J. Padró, *Oxyrhynchus I: Feuilles archéologiques de el Balmassa (1982–2005)* (2006) 99–100; id., in

Aphrodisias, for example, where there was no hippodrome, there is evidence in the theatre for a range of entertainers, including mimes and a tightrope walker.<sup>1</sup>

5215–17 have received preliminary notice in *Egyptian Archaeology* 41 (2012) 5–7, at 7, with photographs.

M. MOUNTFORD

### 5215. CIRCUS PROGRAMME

A. 6B.5/57(a)

12.5 × 29.7 cm

Sixth century

The papyrus is badly damaged, with a number of large holes. The edge of a *kollesis*, in place before the document was written, is visible approximately 3 cm in from the right-hand edge; the right-hand sheet is stuck to the top of the left-hand sheet, and the fibres of the two sheets do not run parallel, suggesting that this was not a manufacturer's join. The upper and right-hand margins are intact, as is the left-hand margin except for a hole level with lines 5–7, and a separate fragment completes the bottom margin. Wide margins were left at both sides and wide gaps between the lines; it looks like a document for public rather than private use. The script is large and stylized, but not like the chancery hands responsible for 2707 and P. Harrauer 56; P. Bingen 128 is somewhat comparable. λ and γ are higher and smaller than the other letters (see particularly line 1), η is curved (7), and ι can have a small loop on top (7).

The writing runs along the fibres. The back contains an account, probably a list of vegetables, written later, with the writing running across the fibres.

ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ  
 ν[ικη]  
 ποιμήτῃ  
 γ[υ]μ[νικο]-  
 5 μίμ[ο]ς  
 ], . . . [  
 γυ]μνικο[-  
 μίμ[ο]ς  
 βουκάλιοι  
 10 . . . [  
 (m.2) δ[ι]εγγύ[χ]ετ

<sup>1</sup>For good fortune.

A. K. Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (2007) 136–7; id., in M. Erroux-Morfin and J. Padró Parcerisa (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus, un site de feuilles en dessin* (2008) 16–17.

<sup>1</sup> Rouché, *Performers* 1.1.iii (IAPh2007 8.104), 8 b ii (IAPh2007 8.12) on pp. 36–7 and Pl. ii.

'Victory Procession, Gymnast(?). Mime, (Procession?); Gymnast(?). Mime. Vocalists(?). . .'  
(2nd hand) 'Farewell.'

1 δ[υ]α[ν]θ[ή] τ[ύ]χ[η]. So 2707 1, P. Bingen 128.1, and P. Harrauer 56.1. The circus programmes are the only papyri from the Byzantine era in which this invocation appears (P. Harrauer 56.1 n.); the latest dated example of its use in published papyri in another context is from 950, BGU I 316 = M. Chr 271.2, an agreement for the sale of a slave. See LXIII 4359 2 n. on the use of this phrase in contracts on papyrus. In 2707 1 and P. Harrauer 56.1, the words are preceded by a christogram. The use of δ[υ]α[ν]θ[ή] τ[ύ]χ[η] at the start of a programme may have been customary in pre-Christian times, when Tyche was believed to be a goddess representing the fortune of the city, possibly because the activities were dangerous or involved betting, possibly because the games were put on by the city authorities. The continuation of the usage in the Christian period suggests that the term, like the symbol of victory (see 2 n.), had lost its pagan religious significance. A seventh-century wooden tablet found in Edfu and now in the Louvre contains an image of Anthonis, the Tyche of Constantinople, painted over extracts of various parts of the New Testament (A. Desreumaux, M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *CRAI* 1992, 89–90), and it is possible that the term in this context was not just a heading but actually signified the production of or a procession involving a statue or image. (I am grateful to Professor Parsons for this reference and suggestion.) The expression δ[υ]α[ν]θ[ή] τ[ύ]χ[η] is used by a number of Byzantine writers but not as a heading.

2 ν[ικ]η. This is more likely to be ν[ικ]η (as in P. Harrauer 56.2) than ν[ικ]α (as in 2707 2 and P. Bingen 128.1; see P. Harrauer 56.2 n.); if there had been an iota as the fifth letter, traces of it would probably be visible. The plural may have indicated a victory figure for each reigning emperor (SHA *Sm.* 22.3) carried in or before the *pompa circensis*; see 2707 2 n. Ovid (*Amores* 3.2.43) has a figure of Victory leading the procession at the races, followed by statues or representations of other gods. The ancient ceremony seems to have continued as the traditional start to entertainment in the circus, but with the Victory figure having lost the meaning of the 'goddess of the circus' (see *RE* VIII A.2 258–9), and become a symbol of the success of the emperor and a part of imperial propaganda. Images of the emperor may also have been carried (C. *T. Av.* 4.1 (425)). See Rouché, 'The Image of Victory: New Evidence from Ephesus', in *Mitteilungen Gilbert Dagron (TMByz* 141: 2002) 527–46, esp. 543. The Hippodrome in Constantinople was the principal venue for imperial victory celebrations in the fifth and sixth centuries. If, when the emperor was present, there was always 'some non-specific reiteration of victory ideology' (M. McCormick, *Emperial Victory: Triumphant Rule in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (1985) 96), it would not be surprising if this was mirrored in some way at events which took place in front of his representatives in the provinces. See Rouché, *Performers* 145–7, on imperial statues at celebrations, and McCormick, *Emperial Victory* 59–68 and 99–9, on imperial victory celebrations. ν[ικ]η could also be an exhortation, as in Rouché, *Performers* nos. 4 and 5 (Aph2007 8.6 and 8.7), but that is less likely in this context.

Less likely also is ν[ικ]ή, which appears frequently in the theatre and in other graffiti from Alexandria and Aphrodisias (Z. Borkowski, *Alexandria II: Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* (1981); Rouché, *Performers passim*). This is usually taken to be indicative, an acclamation of victory (see P. Bingen 128.2 n. and Cameron, *Porphyry* 248–50), but it could also be subjunctive, expressing a wish for victory. Acclamations for the emperor were customary at games and the theatre when he was in attendance, and may have taken place regularly at the start of all entertainments. On acclamations see generally Rouché, 'Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 74 (1984) 181–99.

Professor Parsons notes the use of τ[ύ]χ[η] as a battle-cry of the circus factions (*Proc. de bellis* 1.24.10); the 532 riots in Constantinople were named after it.

3 π[ο]υ[μ]ή. Cf. on 6, and see the introduction to 5215–5218 for the appearance of this word in other circus papyri.

4 The traces are compatible with this reading, as at 7, where see n.

5 μ[ί]μ[η]σ[ι]ς. Restored following 8. A mime can mean a play or sketch to be performed (cf. 5187 9 intro), but it was also a general word for a comic actor, often one who imitated or parodied his subjects. Mimes (ε) are the common element in all the circus programmes known. Mimes took part in competitions at earlier festivals, and that later appearances may also have been competitive is suggested by the references to διακενήθ[η] ἀμάχ[η], 'unbeatable equipment', and exhortations to victory at Aphrodisias, and by evidence that mimes, like the teams of chariot-racers, could 'belong' to one of the Colours: see Rouché, *Performers* nos. 1.1.iii, 1.3.ii, 1.4.1, 1.5.1 (Aph2007 8.16, 8.17, 8.18, 8.104). At XXVII 2480 43 (565/67), wine is distributed by the Apion household to mimes of τ[ύ]χ[η] β[λ]αυακ[τ]ή(ων); this may be a reference to the two Colours (see inter alia 2480 10 showing wine being supplied to the horses of the Blue Faction), although Gascou (see this issue (1976, 192 n. 2 = 2008, 58 n. 34), without giving a reason. The same line records a distribution to καλοπαίεται, who may have belonged to the same group.

Mimes are referred to in a number of papyri from the first century AD onwards: BGU XIV 2428.29 (1 stc, in a festival context); perhaps LXVII 5013 3 (1st century unclear), where see n.; III 519 32 (n), VII 1050 25 (nr/m), and P. Har. I 97.9 (rv) showing that they took part in games; P. RyI. IV 641.17 (first half of rv) entertaining a visiting strategus; P. Wash. Univ. II 95.4 (rv/v); SPF XX 85 (v), again in the context of a festival; 2480 43 (565/67; see above); 5214 2–3 (v) η[ς] διακενήθ[η] αμαχ[η] μ[ί]μ[η]σ[ι]σ[ι]ν. A *histrion*, a special type of mime, appears in VII 1025 7–8 (late ii) in the context of village entertainment. Apart from 2480, 5214, and CPR VII 45.24, 27 (v); meaning unclear), the only references in later papyri are in the 'Artists' section. See Robert, 'Μαγιστολόγος', *REG* 49 (1898) 242 = OMS I 678; F. Perpillou-Thomas, 'Artistes et athlètes dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte', *ZPE* 108 (1992) 225–51, at 230, and references; Cameron, *Porphyry* 230–31; id., *Circus Factions* 224 ff.; for mimes generally, Reich, *Der Mimus* (1903).

6 ] . . . [ The first trace may represent μ (the right-hand side with a suggestion of the right-hand end of the bridge touching it on the left); following it, only specks are preserved. Dr Chang suggests π[ο]υ[μ]ή, as at 3. 6–8 would match 3–5 exactly.

7–9 This sequence also at 5218 fr. 11–13.

7 γυ[μ]νασ[τ]ή. The adjective γυμνασ[τ]ή is found in three third-century papyri from Oxyrhynchus containing applications for competitors' privileges, Pap. Aqon. 1.15, 20, 22, 25, 3.18, and 9.7, where, like μουσικός, ἱερατικός, and σερμικός, it qualifies ἀγωνί[α]; cf. also 5207 II 11. Here the word may be γυμνασ[τ]ή or γυμνασ[τ]ή, signifying an athletic contest; although there is no room for a word such as ἀθλόν or ἀγωνί[α], this may not have been necessary in the context. Alternatively, this may be the first papyrological attestation of γυμνασ[τ]ή used to mean an acrobatic or gymnastic performer in a spectacle, as in SEG XXX 1231, an inscription from Lyons (first half of III) commemorating Gorfosis, a founding raised as such a performer who died at the age of ten. G. Sacco, 'Osservazioni su γροφείς, τρῳφῳίαι, θεσπῳίαι', *Miscellanea graeca e romana* 7 (1980) 271–86, cites five Latin inscriptions in the same vein (CIL VI 10158, 10159, 10160, 14400, X 2132) and SHA *Vopiscus* *Car.* 19.2–3, showing *gymnastai* appearing in spectacles in Rome along with, inter alia, pantomimes, musicians, and what we would call circus entertainers; these suggest that the term may have been applied principally to young performers.

8 μ[ί]μ[η]σ[ι]ς. See 5 n.

9 βουκόλῳ. This word, spelt βουκόλιος, appears in 2707 5 and 7 as an adjective qualifying καλοπαίεται (men on stilts; P. Harrauer 56.4 n.), and was translated as 'singing', from Latin *oculati*; see 2707 5 n., and cf. *Lex. lat. Lell.* II s.v. Here and in 5217 2 and no doubt also in 5218 fr. 1.3 it is a noun. I have not found the word used elsewhere in papyri. We have evidence of its use in three other contexts: (1) Latin *oculati* at royal banquets (SHA *Alex.* *Sec.* 34.2 (Severus dismisses *oculati exortantes* along with other types of entertainers) and Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 1.2.9 *oculatum oculatum medietatem arietum simul iuuat*); (2) the presumed original singers of the psalms (βουκόλιος φῳις ᾄδῳίς in Chron. Pasch. 159.7

and Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Top.* 5.117.14; τοὺς δὲ φόδους τοὺς λεγομένους βουκαλίους in Chron. Pasch. 159.4 and Cosm. Indic. *Top.* 5.116.13; (5) in Const. Porph. *De cer.* eight references to βουκαλίους are to a regular group in the imperial suite (742.10 R. ὑπουργῶν τε καὶ βουκαλίους) whose role was to utter appropriate phrases in Latin, such as 'consularibus imperialis vestra', at fixed points during the imperial banquet (they are called τοὺς βουκαλίους βουκαλίους at 744.7 R.). In four places (I 15.29, II 17.1, 6, 19 V) their performance is represented by λέγειν, in three (743.22, 744.7, 751.3 R.) by ἐκφώνησις (acclamation). See N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de présence byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles* (1972) 167 n. 146.

10. [ : a steeply descending stroke with further ink lower down and to the left; Δ, as at 5218 fr. 1.4 (cf. on 7-9 above), may be a possible reading. There are further possible traces to the right, but these may belong to the next letter or the next but one.

11. δ[ ]ϵϛϛ[ ]ϛϛϛ. The reconstruction follows 2707 14. The surviving letters appear to be written in a different hand. See the introduction to 5215-18 for possible implications of the use of this word, which would normally appear at the end of a letter.

M. MOUNTFORD

## 5216. CIRCUS PROGRAMME

84/90(g)

13 × 14 cm

Fifth/sixth century

Only four lines of this papyrus, and slight traces of a fifth, have survived. It is not possible to tell how much is missing. The right margin is intact and, as in 5215, the letters are large and the writer leaves a wide margin to left and right, as if for a public notice. μ and ν are curved; ν ends with a flourish at the end of each line. λ is open but not noticeably smaller than the other letters, except on its second appearance in 4. The back is blank.

μῦμος  
βουκαλίου  
γυροπαισίου  
ἡθολόγοι

5 δθλο]ν  
]

'. . . Mime. Race. Mime. . . . Race. . . .'

1 μ[ ]μων. See 5215 3 n.

2 δθλον. This word appears in three other papyri: P. Bingen 128.3, 7, 9 (see P. Harrauer 56.8 n. on the meaning of δθλον in this connection and for the supplement δθλο]ν at P. Bingen 128.3), where it has the same meaning as here, SB X 10492.7 (208), where it clearly means 'prize', and P. Lond. VI 1927.37 (mid n.), where the meaning is not entirely clear but it was translated as 'contest'. Its meaning seems to have changed over time, developing from the prize to the contest which was fought for it and then, specifically or in specific contexts, a chariot contest or race (see P. Harrauer

56.8 n. citing Const. Porph. *De cer.* 753.13 R.). Philo (*De div. verb. sign.* s.v.) distinguishes δθλον meaning 'contest' from φαθλον meaning 'prize'.

3 μῦμος. See 5215 3 n.

4 αβλατον. The meaning of this is unclear. I have not found anything in Greek or Latin that looks similar, other than *ablatus* from *abire*. If that is the correct derivation, there are I think three possible (I hesitate to use the word in this context; none is satisfactory) meanings: 'carried away' (possibly a stock mime or pageant about a stolen object, but I have found no similar surviving title), 'interval' (or 'cancelled?'), and 'prize-giving' (see Lewis and Short s.v. *abire*, Δ 'to take or bear off or away, to carry off', Β 'to cease from, desist from', and Γ 'to carry off (as the fruit or result of one's labor . . .)' respectively). While one might have expected another race in this position in the list, it is clear that the word is not δθλον. The second letter may possibly be κ but that does not help the interpretation, as I can find no examples of ακλατον either. Nor is αβλατον attested.

5 δθλο]ν. Restored following 2. The word could equally well be μῦμο]ν.

M. MOUNTFORD

## 5217. CIRCUS PROGRAMME

105/67(a)

19.5 × 10.2 cm

Sixth century

Only four lines of this papyrus have survived, and we cannot tell how much is missing. The left-hand margin is complete, with a wide band of papyrus (c.7 cm) left blank on both sides. The edge of a *kollesis* is visible 5 cm in from the left-hand edge of the sheet. The writing is the same size as in 5216. The back is blank.

μῦμος  
βουκαλίου  
γυροπαισίου  
ἡθολόγοι

'. . . Mime. Vocalists. . . . Character actors.'

1-2 The same sequence at 5215 8-9, 5218 fr. 1.2-3, in both cases preceded by γυμνικο[ ]

1 μῦμος. See 5215 3 n.

2 βουκαλίου. See 5215 9 n.

3 γυροπαισίου. I have not found this word anywhere else. γῦρος means a ring or circle (LSJ), and γυροβασία, 'going in a circle', with = for β as commonly, would be a comprehensible and well-parallelled though unattested formation; -σιος however, if correctly read, is hard to account for. Latin *circus* is often found in connection with horses: cf. OLD s.v. 1 'A circular course on which horses were trained or raced', 2a 'A circle described by a creature or object in motion', 2b 'a circling or wheeling movement'. The adjective γυρικός can mean 'contorted' when used of wrestling (LSJ Rev. Suppl., citing Philostr. *Gym.* 11, 35), and so one might alternatively wish to find here a reference to contortionists.

4 ἡθολόγοι. Another word not found elsewhere in published papyri. Defined in Hesychius, Photius, and the *Suda* only as *θεατρικῆς*, this is a specific type of mime who depicts stock figures (such as 'the boastful man' or 'the peasant') in word and gesture, equated to a *biologos* by Reich (*Der Mimus*

i 83, in the context of mimes who imitated Christian figures, and ii 642), and Robert (*REG* 49 (1996) 242 = *GMS* i 678). Other references are at Athen. 1.20A, a reference to Noemon the mimic, *Diod. Sic.* 20.63.2, where a person is described as making people laugh as if he was an ἠβολόγος or a θαυμαστικός (a mimic or a conjuror or stunt man), and *Plu. Qy. Conn. 673B* καὶ μίμος καὶ ἠβολόγος, in relation to entertainments at drinking parties.

M. MOUNTFORD

## 5218. CIRCUS PROGRAMME

66 6B.3/G(1-2)a

fr. 1 11.2 x 8.4 cm

Sixth century

One large and seven smaller fragments. The writing runs along the fibres, and the back is blank.

The document is a list of circus events and displays (or victors?), part athletic, part non-athletic entertainments, and several of uncertain nature. The lines are written flush left with a justified left-hand margin and there is no evidence of Maas' law. The text is written in a large, well-spaced fluent round hand with vertical extension, in fr. 2.1 at least so widely spaced as to suggest special display or heading. Each letter is about 1.7-1.9 cm tall. η, μ, and γ have their cursive shapes, but ο is stylized, unusually narrow, and elongated; β has a carefully contrived loop at its foot. The hand is not identical with that of any of the other surviving programmes.

The layout and scale and style of writing suggests nothing so much as a posted sign: letters uncommonly take the form of mere lists. Perhaps it passed between two municipal officers or circus organizers for approval prior to posting, or perhaps it served as an announcement of the events or an invitation to them (in suitably large formal script) to important persons. In terms of structure, the piece most closely resembles 5215, which has in lines 7-9 the same sequence as 5218 fr. 1.1-3. The appearance of μίμος in two places in the surviving fragments (fr. 1.2, fr. 3) is no obstacle to their being assigned to a single document, cf. 5215 5, 8, 5216 1, 3, P Bingen 128.6, 10; 2707, the only programme in which mimes appear in the plural, μίμοι (11), is also the only programme in which they are known to have made only a single appearance. 5218 signals no chariot races, either because these were understood as alternating with the entertainment events, or because the programme announced is all show.

5218 is of particular interest as containing alongside familiar items (and a familiar sequence) several words found in no other programme published to date (fr. 1.4; fr. 2.1, 2; fr. 4.1, 2), but of these, only βολή (fr. 2.1) has so far been deciphered.

|           |                   |         |            |
|-----------|-------------------|---------|------------|
| Fr. 1     | Fr. 2             | Fr. 3   | Fr. 4      |
| γυμνικο[  | βολή              | μίμο[ο- | ῥι...[     |
| μίμος [   | .]...[.].]...ῥῥ [ | .       | . σγυγγίμ[ |
| βουκάλισ[ |                   |         |            |
| δ[.].]... |                   |         |            |

|       |       |   |                         |
|-------|-------|---|-------------------------|
| Fr. 5 | Fr. 6 | Fr. 7   | Fr. 8                   |
| .].]  | .].]  | Top   | .].]                    |
|       | Foot  | .].]  | Foot                    |
|       |       | (Fr. 1) 'Gymnast(s). Mime. Vocalist(s) (?) ...' | (Fr. 2) 'Throw (?) ...' |
|       |       |   | (Fr. 3) 'Mime.'         |

## Fr. 1

1-3 The same sequence as 5215 7-9.

1 γυμνικο[. See on 5215 7. Whether there was one or more is impossible to know: singular, if the lone μίμος in 2 is any indication (cf. 5215 7 γυμνικο[—where we could of course have the singular or plural—with 8 μίμος sing.), and we are thinking of a solo, perhaps virtuoso gymnast (was it a parade of the victors in each category?); plural, if these were the competitors in a group event.

2 μίμος [. Cf. fr. 3, and see on 5215 5. The elongated top of c shows that we have the end of the word and line.

3 βουκάλισ[. See on 5215 9 (where we have the same spelling βουκαλ-); 2707 5, 7, and 5217 2 (with the spelling βουκαλ-). Plural in 2707, 5215 9, and 5217 2, and nowhere singular, which perhaps argues for the restoration of the plural here.

4 δ[.].]...[. After δ, the lower left part of α or c; then possibly ε. Not δε[υ]γγί[χ]αι: there is no room for [υ], and the final trace descends too steeply to be the upper left-hand corner of γ.

## Fr. 2

1 βολή. End of line (and event), but meaning uncertain. Perhaps the reference is to a display of javelin- or discus-throwing; cf. *Gal. In Hipp. Epid. VI comment.* (CMG V 10.2.2 p. 128.1) δίκων καὶ δασορίων βολάς; alternatively perhaps the word is used of an archery contest (cf. *Babr.* 1.2). Cf. also δικοβόλος (of statues, and of soldiers, *Lyd. Mag.* p. 72.21 Bandy) and related words.

## Fr. 3

μίμο[ is likely; cf. fr. 1.2. 2707 is the only circus programme with plural μίμοι: cf. 5215-5218 introd.

## Fr. 4

1 Not ἀγαθὴ τύχη.

## Fr. 6-8

The apparent upper and lower margins indicated in the transcription may be merely a product of abrasion.

D. OBBINK

## APPENDIX

## GAMES, COMPETITORS, AND PERFORMERS IN ROMAN EGYPT

1. *The emergence of Greek games in Egypt*

Athletic, equestrian, and artistic competitions (*agones*) flourished from the seventh and sixth centuries on in Greece, southern Italy, the west coast of Asia Minor, and Cyrenaica. Among the dozens of archaic and classical contests, the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games emerged as the top four. Although people involved in these contests (athletes, performing artists, ambassadors, authors of victory odes) travelled widely, there was little co-ordination of this developing agonistic circuit; formal categorization of contests and supervision by higher authorities only started in the Hellenistic period, and this evolution was not completed until the Roman imperial period. The love of contests, on the other hand, was something that connected the Greeks from early on, so that it is not surprising that competitions in performing arts and sports were introduced into Egypt when Greek settlers and culture arrived there.

*Agones* started in Egypt immediately after its conquest by Alexander the Great, who celebrated his coronation as pharaoh in Memphis with games (Arrian 3.5.2), although regular games, that is, an *agon* held every four years on a fixed date, were apparently not established until about half a century later. Some of the sports that made up the *agones*, such as running, wrestling, boxing, and horse racing, had a long independent history in Egypt, but there is no evidence for Egyptian influence on the Greek contests.<sup>1</sup> The Ptolemies wanted to present themselves as champions of Greek culture and therefore actively promoted Greek-style sports and performing arts.<sup>2</sup> The royal family competed vicariously at the major contests in Greece in the horse and chariot races, events in which wealth could ensure success, and encouraged the participation of Hellenes from Egypt in athletic events through subsidies and tax privileges. They also founded or supported new games in Egypt. After Ptolemy II had instituted the *Ptolemaia* in Alexandria, probably in 279 BC, the *Theadelphia* and the *Basileia* soon followed. These games were recognized as top games by several allies of the Ptolemies, but in practice, like other games on the periphery of the Greek world, they rarely attracted international competitors. Games for performing artists only were instituted as well. An artistic contest was held as part of the Alexandrian *Dionysia* and another was organised by the Alexandrian deme Eleusis. The city of Ptolemais Hermiou in Upper Egypt was permitted by

Ptolemy III to establish a contest for performing artists as well. Literary texts, such as the *Hippika* of Posidippus and Callimachus' victory ode for Berenike, celebrate victories of the royal family and courtiers, while others, such as the description of a procession by Kallixinos of Rhodes (Athenaeus 196A–203B), illustrate the splendour of the Alexandrian festivals.<sup>3</sup>

Greek sports spread through the *chora* as well, as gymnasia were founded by immigrants, in particular military settlers, in the capital cities of the nomes and, unlike elsewhere in the Greek world, even in some large villages. In the course of the second century BC gymnasiarchs and ephebes start to appear in the papyri, indicating that the local gymnasia gradually conformed to the common Greek pattern. There were no internationally recognized *agones* like those of Alexandria or Ptolemais Hermiou, but occasional papyrological references attest smaller-scale competitions mounted as part of local festivals.<sup>4</sup>

The new festivals created a demand for participants. Most athletes who competed in the Egyptian games were locals who did not travel to the top games of Greece, and their occasional participation in contests did not warrant professionalization. The performing artists, on the other hand, had more opportunities to perform outside the context of *agones* and could make a career as performers. To ensure good participation at each major festival, they were organized in a professional association under the aegis of the king.<sup>5</sup>

In the course of the Hellenistic period the agonistic circuit had grown and new ties were created across the eastern half of the Mediterranean, so that by the end of the first century BC top competitors led a cosmopolitan life: they travelled throughout the Greek world and were organized in international professional or-

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemaic equestrian victories are mainly documented in Posidippus' *Hippika* and the Panathenaic victor list SEG XLI 115. The *Hippika*, nos. 71–88 in C. Austin and G. Bastianini (edd.), *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia* (Milan 2002), form one section of the epigram collection found in a mummy cartonnage (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 305). Ptolemaic support for competitors is documented in Polybius 27.9 and P. Hal. 1.260–65. The date of the first *Ptolemaia* is disputed due to some inconsistencies in the evidence (SEG XXVIII 60.55–64; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 390; CID IV 40; PSI IV 364). Delphi and the Nestotic league declared the *Ptolemaia* to be equal to the Olympics (Syll.<sup>3</sup> 390; CID IV 40). For the other contests see SEG XXXVI 1218, IV O 188 (*Theadelphia*), SEG XXVII 1114; IG II<sup>2</sup> 3779.19–20 (*Basileia*), *Theocritus' Encomium to Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Ld. 17) 112–14 (*Dionysia*), XXXII 2645 fr. 3 (Eleusis) and OGIS I 49 (*Ptolemaia*).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the horse race in P. Genova III 197, and the torch race in BCU IV 1246. See B. Legras, *Nécessité: Recherches sur les jeux grecs dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine* (Geneva 1969); W. Habermann, 'Gymnasien im ptolemäischen Ägypten: Eine Skizze', in D. Kah and P. Scholz (edd.), *Das hellenistische Gymnasium* (Berlin 2007) 335–38.

<sup>3</sup> This association is only attested in two texts from Ptolemais, OGIS I 50 and 51 (I. Prose 3 and 6), from the reign of Ptolemy II. A Cypriot branch of this association is well attested in the second century BC. See B. Le Guen, *Les Associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique* (Nancy and Paris 2001) i 293–315, ii 34–6; S. Anziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft* (Historia Einzelschriften 163, Wiesbaden 2003) 109–20.

<sup>1</sup> On sport in pharaonic Egypt, see e.g. W. Decker, *Pharos und Sport* (Mainz 2006).

<sup>2</sup> This is further elaborated in S. Remijsen, 'Challenged by Egyptians: Greek Sports in the Third Century BC', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26 (2009) 246–71.

ganizations. The establishment of the Roman Empire led to greater state regulation of games and competitors. This was linked to an upsurge of new *agones* across the Greek world, famously described by Louis Robert as an 'agonistic explosion'.<sup>1</sup> In the early imperial period, the regional associations for performing artists had merged, and an international association for athletes had developed (cf. 5202 26-7 n.).<sup>2</sup> The expanded agonistic circuit was supervised by these international associations and by the Roman authorities, who developed general rules on the schedule of the games—with particular input from Hadrian—and on the privileges awarded to victors, and further refined the categorization system.<sup>3</sup> From around AD 100 on there were three main categories of contests, which determined what kind of privileges victors afterwards enjoyed in their home cities, and hence which contests had most appeal for the top competitors and the crowds. The most prestigious contests were the sacred and eiselastic games. A victor in such a contest would be allowed a ceremonial procession to enter the city on his return and was rewarded, again by his hometown, with a monthly pension or *opsonion*.<sup>4</sup> These victors also enjoyed all the privileges of *hieronikai* ('sacred victors'), who were the victors in the wider category of sacred games. The term 'sacred' games is of debated origin, but does not imply that these games had a greater religious significance. Victors in sacred games were exempt from certain taxes including liturgies (see below). Least prestigious was the category of thematic games. This term is derived from *thema*, which can mean either 'prize' or 'cash fund' (i.e. the sum donated to fund a contest). Victors of thematic games could win valuable prizes, but were not granted privileges. The terms 'eiselastic' and 'thematic' are not attested before the reign of Trajan, and seem to have been innovations of that period, but the category of sacred games goes back to the so-called 'stephanitic' ('crown') games of the Hellenistic period. Another important categorizing term was the *peridos*, or 'circuit', which referred to the traditional 'big four': the Olympics, the Pythian games, the Isthmian games and the Nemean games.

Existing and new games at Alexandria in the early imperial period included an annual competition for ephebes, a biennial contest linked to the imperial cult, and at least one quadrennial contest, won by several international champions

<sup>1</sup> L. Robert, 'Discours d'ouverture', *Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, 3-9 Octobre 1982* (Athens 1984) I 98 = *Opera minora selecta* vi 712.

<sup>2</sup> In general: O. van Nijf, 'Global Players: Athletes and Performers in the Hellenistic and Roman World', *Hephaistos* 24 (2006) 225-35. On the athletic association see e.g. H. W. Pleket, 'Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds', *ZPE* 10 (1973) 197-227. An overview of the history of the imperial artistic association is yet to be written.

<sup>3</sup> Letters of Hadrian to the artistic association on the schedule and many practical aspects of the games attest to this supervision from above. Cf. G. Petzl and E. Schwertheim, *Hadrian und die diönetischen Künstler* (Bonn 2006).

<sup>4</sup> A key text is Pliny, *Ep.* 10.118-119 (AD 111), in which the governor asked Trajan for advice when athletes started to claim allowances for victories won before a contest was eiselastic.

in the mid-first century AD, which according to Strabo (17.1.10) took place at the nearby military base of Nicopolis.<sup>1</sup> In the second century Alexandria, like several other cities in the empire, was allowed to set up *Hadrianea*, which in the 160s were renamed the *Hadrianios Philadelphieios agón*. Alexandrian *Olympia* were also founded, most likely in 176.<sup>2</sup> Hadrian's new *polis* of Antinoopolis received an annual *agón* on its foundation, the *Megalá Antinoeia*. Sacred games were not normally annual, but in this case a full programme for adults had been added to the *Antinoeia* proper, which were annual ephebic games, thus making them *Megalá*.<sup>3</sup>

The gymnasia of the *chora* seem to have been formalised under stricter state control in the early Roman period. Village gymnasia disappeared; conversely every *metropolis* (nome capital) had a gymnasium with the appropriate officials and every nome had a defined hereditary 'gymnasial group' subject to official checks of membership.<sup>4</sup> Because the *metropolis* were still not *poleis* (citizen communities), the *chora* continued to lack internationally recognised *agones*, although there were shows with athletes at local festivals. Technically men from the *chora* could not compete in *agones* elsewhere because they were not citizens of a *polis*. Only 'Alexandrians' appear in official victory lists and inscriptions; indeed, Alexandria is recorded as the origin of a third of the victors of the Olympic *stadion* race in the first two centuries AD, that is in 17 out of 50 Olympiads. Although Alexandria was one of the largest cities of the ancient world, this number seems too high for the inhabitants of a single city, and no other city even comes near.<sup>5</sup> It appears that athletes from the nomes did compete, but as Alexandrians, which would explain how some residents of the *chora* had become sacred victors.<sup>6</sup> This is supported by Pausanias' note (5.21.15) that the two Egyptian athletes who cheated at the Olympic games of AD 125 came from the Arsinoite nome (perhaps implying that these cheaters were not real Greeks). A later mosaic from Akmonia (Asia Minor), on the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> P. Lond. VI 1912 (ephebic contest) and IAG 84 (*Séleukios agón, Sebastios agón*). The *Sebastios agón* may perhaps be identified with the contests in XVII 2105 and SB VIII 10068. IAG 65, 67, and 68 all speak of the *Pentastichos* of Alexandria, which is not a proper name, but the typical term in these inscriptions for quadrennial contests anywhere.

<sup>2</sup> IAG 84 (*Hadrianios Philadelphieios agón*). For the *Olympia* see J.-Y. Strasser, 'Les Olympia d'Alexandrie et le paraclysiaie Mt. Adklipéndis', *BCH* 108-9 (2004-5) 421-68.

<sup>3</sup> PSI III 199; P. Oxy. Helv. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4. For the ephebic competitions see I. Portes 6, 9, and 10. One hieroglyphic inscription refers to these games; see W. Decker, 'Bemerkungen zum Agón für Antinoos in Antinoopolis (Antinoeia)', *Kölns Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft* 2 (1973) 38-56.

<sup>4</sup> A. K. Bowman and D. W. Rathbone, 'Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 82 (1992) 107-27; G. Ruffini, 'Genealogy and the Gymnasium', *BASP* 45 (2006) 71-99; see now also Y. Broux, 'Creating a New Local Elite: The Establishment of the Metropolitan Orders of Roman Egypt', *APF* 59 (2013) 143-33.

<sup>5</sup> Miletos and Xanthos both had two victories, and Sidon and Aigion had three, Aigion's being due to the only triple victor in these 200 years. For the complete list see P. Christesen and Z. Martirosova-Turdova, 'The Olympic Victory List of Eusebius: Background, Text, and Translation', *Traditio* 61 (2006) 31-93.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. BGU I 119 and 328, P. Berl. Leihg. II 35 (Arsinoite).

identifies them as Alexandrians.<sup>1</sup> Stronger evidence is an inscription for the famous later second-century pankratiast Marcus Aurelius Asklepiades, from a well-known Hermopolitan family of athletes, but giving Alexandria as his *patris* (IGUR I 240). Apion, whose extraordinary honours are now revealed by 5202, and illustrate the international fame and contacts of a successful artistic competitor in the mid first century AD, definitely had Alexandrian citizenship although he reputedly came from the *chora* (Josephus, *Ap.* 2.29). How and at what stage in their careers these competitors from the nomes acquired their Alexandrian citizenship, and whether it was more than honorary, are questions which as yet lack answers.

The situation of the *agones* in Egypt began to change after AD 200 when Septimius Severus granted city councils to the *metropoleis*. Now these towns could express their local pride by organizing games as other cities had long been doing across the East, and a local agonistic circuit gradually developed. The badly documented *Kapitolia* of Hermopolis seem to have been instituted shortly after the Septimian grant. As a neighbour of Antinoopolis and the hometown of the aforementioned Marcus Aurelius Asklepiades, then acting president of the international athletic association, Hermopolis had all the necessary knowledge and connections.<sup>2</sup> Around the same time both Oxyrhynchus and Leontopolis are known to have introduced an annual ephebic contest modelled on the *Antinoeia*.<sup>3</sup> The great wave of new games, however, started in the reign of Gallienus: the *Antinoeia* were upgraded to eiselastic status, probably shortly before 264, the *Panaia* of Panopolis were first held in 264, the *Kapitolia* of Antinoopolis in 268 and the *Kapitolia* of Oxyrhynchus in 273. Lykopolis probably also had games by this time, but their name is not known, and other cities which rarely feature in the papyri may have had their own *agones* as well.<sup>4</sup> The vast majority of documentary papyri concerning *agones* and competitors in Egypt thus come from the later third to early fourth century AD. We encounter competitors, former victors, and agonistic officials through their personal and public paperwork, and even magical texts to ensure victory.<sup>5</sup> In the same period, local branches of the athletic and artistic associations became active throughout Egypt. 5208 documents the first known female priestess of the artistic association. The fragmentary 5207 documents the activities of the athletic association.

The following Table lists the games that are certainly attested in Egypt of the first to third centuries AD and their key details.

<sup>1</sup> A. Bohne, *Bilder vom Sport: Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie römischer Athleten-Darstellungen* (Nikahora) Beihefte 19, Hildesheim 2011) K80.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kapitolia* are attested only in I. Side 130.

<sup>3</sup> IV 705, SEG XL 1568.

<sup>4</sup> Pap. Agon. 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10. The existence of a contest in Lycopolis is suggested by the honorary citizenship of Lycopolis for a retired competitor in Pap. Agon. 3.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. X 1284 (250), former *agonothetes* as party to a sale; I 39 (392), petition for privilege on account of victories; XIV 1643 (298), victor and official of association appoints a representative to look for a slave; XII 1478 (m/v, magical text); LXIII 4354 (307), victor as keeper of a will.

TABLE: Games in Roman Egypt

| City         | Type or name of games                          | Date of establishment                  | Category                              | Period and time of celebration |
|--------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Alexandria   | ephebic contest                                | Ptolemaic?                             | —                                     | annual                         |
| Alexandria   | <i>Sobastês agon</i>                           | early 1st century AD?                  | sacred?                               | biennial                       |
| Alexandria   | <i>Selenis agon</i>                            | ?                                      | ?                                     | ?                              |
| Alexandria   | <i>Hadrianus Philadelphus agon</i>             | Hadrian, then M. Aurelius and L. Verus | sacred; and perhaps eiselastic?       | quadrennial?                   |
| Alexandria   | <i>Olympia</i>                                 | 176?                                   | sacred and eiselastic                 | quadrennial                    |
| Antinoopolis | <i>Megala Antinoeia</i> (inc. ephebic contest) | 130                                    | sacred; by 264, sacred and eiselastic | Phehon (May)                   |
| Antinoopolis | <i>Kapitolia</i>                               | 268                                    | sacred and eiselastic                 | annual                         |
| Hermopolis   | <i>Kapitolia</i>                               | Septimius Severus?                     | ?                                     | Mecheir (February)             |
| Leontopolis  | ephebic contest                                | 220                                    | sacred                                | quadrennial                    |
| Lykopolis    | ?  | ?                                      | ?                                     | Tybi (January)                 |
| Oxyrhynchus  | ephebic contest                                | 210                                    | sacred                                | ?                              |
| Oxyrhynchus  | <i>Kapitolia</i>                               | 273/4                                  | sacred and eiselastic                 | annual                         |
| Panopolis    | <i>Panaia</i>                                  | 264                                    | sacred and eiselastic                 | Hadryr (November)?             |

2. *Agones in a metropolis: the case of Oxyrhynchus*

Before 200 Oxyrhynchus did not organize its own *agones*, although athletics and artistic performances were already an established feature of urban culture, and a common theme in literature. Oxyrhynchite papyri from the first centuries AD include classical victory odes by Pindar and commentaries on them (cf. 5201), lists of Olympic victors for chronological purposes (II 222; XVII 2082), and handbooks for demonstration matches of combat sports (5204 (?)). Athletics were central to gymnasium life, and performers were hired as entertainment during festivals—not only performing artists such as mimes and actors, but also pankratiasts or boxers in demonstration matches. Festival accounts such as III 519 show that the contestants in these matches were not awarded prizes but paid wages.<sup>1</sup> While most entertainers probably performed only locally, some also travelled over longer distances and became members of the artistic *synod*.<sup>2</sup> The construction of a huge theatre for about 12,500 spectators in the mid-second century shows that artistic performances were both frequent and popular in the city. The theatre of Oxyrhynchus is in fact the largest known in Roman north Africa, and one of the largest in the entire East, and symbolises Oxyrhynchus' civic ambitions.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after the grant of a *boule* in 200, the rich landowner Aurelius (Calpurnius) Horion donated a sum of at least 10,000 drachmas to the city of Oxyrhynchus to be invested in loans so that the interest could be used for the organization of an annual contest for ephebes on the model of the *Antipnoia* (IV 705). He applied to Septimius Severus for approval of this benefaction, so that the city would not misuse his donation for any other purposes. Parallels from Asia Minor show that this was the normal procedure for the introduction of a new contest, and that it would be followed by discussions in the city council on the practicalities of implementation.<sup>4</sup> The contest was first held in 210, and about ten years later it received sacred status.<sup>5</sup> Victors in this contest could then bear the title *τῶν ἐξ ἐφηβιακῶν ἱερωνικῶν*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VI 1050, SB IV 7236.

<sup>2</sup> In VI 908 a gymnasiarch belonged to the artistic *synod* in 199.

<sup>3</sup> The theatre was partially excavated by Petrie in 1902; see now D. M. Bailey, 'The Great Theatre', in A. K. Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (London 2007) 70–90. The earliest documentary references are P. Coll. Youtie I 88, dated to 169–173 on prosopographical grounds; XVII 2127, late second century, mentioning expenses for a *παγεγυρις* in the theatre; XLII 3072, c.197–200. One of the capitals preserved in the British Museum belongs stylistically to the Antonine period.

<sup>4</sup> Best known from the long inscription on the *Demosthenaia* in Oenoanda, published and discussed by M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest in kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien: Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oenoanda* (Munich 1988).

<sup>5</sup> SB X 10493, relating to the 18th contest in 227, calls them sacred, but IX 1202, of 217 or shortly later, does not yet use this term.

('of the sacred victors from the ephebate').<sup>1</sup> Sacred status was normally reserved for major quadrennial contests, and as far as we know the annual ephebic games of Oxyrhynchus and Leontopolis are the only ephebic games to have enjoyed this status. This irregularity can be explained by their model, in that both games were *isantonioi*, that is modelled on and 'equal to' the *Antinoeia*. The fragmentary new petition 5206 may refer to the Oxyrhynchite contest or to its model. Although the *Antinoeia* were annual, which was atypical for sacred contests, they did include competitions for boys and for adults, and had had an imperial founder, which explains their sacred status. Perhaps too the relatively low number of games in Egypt in the early third century encouraged the Roman government to recognize the ephebic games as sacred.

A particular problem is the age of boys who competed in the ephebic games. Ephebes did not represent an agonistic age-category; ephebic games were those open only to boys following the *ephebeia*, a mainly physical education programme for young males registered in the gymnasium group. Much is unknown about the ephebic programme in Egypt, including whether it took one or two years. Education may not have been continuous, but divided into different blocks.<sup>2</sup> The ephebic games became one of the most important events of the programme. Traditionally the participants in athletic contests were divided into *paides* ('boys') and *andres* ('men'), sometimes with an intermediate category such as *agenioi* ('beardless men'). These categories represented stages of physical development and not just age, but *paides* were typically in their teens, or in their lower teens if there was an intermediate group of *agenioi*.<sup>3</sup> The age at which boys were ephebes was not the same throughout the Greek world, and ranged from 14 to their early 20s, although most were between 16 and 18.<sup>4</sup> In Egypt boys were registered in the gymnasial group at or just before 14, the age of civic majority, after an examination (*epitrisis*) of their eligibility. Unlike the *epitrisis* papyri, documents recording enrolment (*eisiris*) of ephebes do not give their ages. In IX 1202 a father complains that his son was registered in the gymnasial group in 217 when he was 14, but mistakenly has not been included in a recently compiled list of boys who would soon become ephebes and could participate in the next ephebic games. Because the text itself is not dated we cannot be sure how old the son was by then, presumably 15 or 16. Ephebic competitors at Leontopolis were divided into *paides* and *agenioi*, which suggests a certain

<sup>1</sup> E.g. XIV 1697, 1703, 1705, XLIII 3134, PSI V 457, P. Wisc. I 7, SB X 1021f.

<sup>2</sup> Legras, *Néels* 189, on the basis of P. Select. 19. Cf. I 42.

<sup>3</sup> At the Olympics, where there was no category between boys and men, the ages of the 'boys' ranged between about 12 and 18; cf. N. B. Crowther, 'The Age-Category of Boys at Olympia', *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 304–8 = *Athletics* (Hildesheim 2004) 87–92.

<sup>4</sup> A. S. Chankowski, *L'Épébie hellénistique: Étude d'une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la Mer Égée et de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 2010) 239–41.



range in their age and physical development.<sup>1</sup> An ephebic inscription from Antinoopolis does not make this distinction, but here younger boys could compete as *paides* in the *Megala Antinoia*.<sup>2</sup> The surprising contract 5209 for one competitor to lose in a boys' wrestling competition probably relates to these games.

Although local *hieronikai* from the ephebate are the best attested agonistic victors from Oxyrhynchus, Oxyrhynchite victors at games elsewhere also appear increasingly in the third-century papyri. This is partly to be explained by their greater visibility now that Oxyrhynchite competitors no longer had to compete as Alexandrians, but the surge of games in Egypt also created a larger group of competitors who invested in their careers, and won contests in other cities, sometimes even becoming *pleistonikai*.<sup>3</sup> Five certificates of membership of the artistic syndes of the Oxyrhynchite attest to the vitality of agonistic life in the third century.<sup>4</sup> The only Oxyrhynchite victor at the original Olympic games, as far as we know, was Aurelius Sarapammon (XIV 1643, PSI V 456).

From AD 273/4 on, Oxyrhynchus celebrated a sacred and eiselastic quadrennial contest with athletic, artistic, and equestrian events, the *Kapitolia*.<sup>5</sup> It was held in Tybi (January),<sup>6</sup> this bigger contest required more planning and money, and some papyri reveal the administrative challenge. Officials of the now necessary local branch of the athletic syndes were asked by the *prytanis* of the city to ensure the presence of champions at the contest (Pap. Agon. 8 = P. Oslo III 85). The council appointed a president (XII 1416) and when necessary an assistant (LX 4079), and checked the accounts (LXIII 4357).

It is not clear where the *agones* of Oxyrhynchus were held. It is unlikely that the city had a stadium because Egypt did not have an architectural tradition of stadia. Until the second century AD Alexandria was the only city in Egypt with regular athletic games. The *Lagion* in the city centre—described during the Napoleonic expedition, but now completely built over—doubled as stadium and circus, though nearby Nicopolis may have had a more traditional stadium.<sup>7</sup> Entertainment build-

<sup>1</sup> SEG XL 1568.

<sup>2</sup> I. Portes 9 lists the ephebic victors before the other ephebes. P. Lond. III 1164 (f) mentions the competition for men.

<sup>3</sup> Pap. Agon. 9, 10, PSI XII 1251, P. Hamb. I 21, P. Fasad I Univ. 40, LXXV 5062.

<sup>4</sup> Pap. Agon. 1, 3, 4, 5, 5208.

<sup>5</sup> The presence of the artistic association in Pap. Agon. 1 = BGU IV 1074 suggests a competition for performing artists. XLIII 3133 is a contract between a free charioteer from Hermopolis and a horse owner from Oxyrhynchus about participation in the *Kapitolia*.

<sup>6</sup> Pap. Agon. 1, composed during the first *Kapitolia*, is dated Tybi, year 5 of Aurelian (January 274). As there is no doubt about the identification of the contest in this document, it is stronger evidence than XLV 3248, an administrative diary referring to *Kamro* on the 9th of Thoth, which led Strasser, 'Les Olympia d'Alexandrie', 436, to place the *Kapitolia* in September.

<sup>7</sup> For the *Lagion* see J. S. McKenzie, S. Gibson, and A. T. Reyes, 'Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence', *JRS* 94 (2004) 101–4; M. Sabotka, *Das Serapeum in*

ings were multifunctional, even if they were originally designed for a specific type of event. Theatres could be used for combat sports, while gymnasia or circuses were suitable for sports that required a larger flat area. Circuses were preferred to stadia for athletic games in north Africa and Syria which, like Egypt, did not join the international agonistic circuit until the late second or third century.<sup>8</sup> A circus was not only more modern, grand, and prestigious, but also provided the infrastructure for horse and chariot races. At Antinoopolis a Roman-style circus was constructed for its Greek-style *agon*.<sup>9</sup> No monumental circus is attested at Oxyrhynchus, but the large theatre, the gymnasium, and the hippodrome must have sufficed for its ephebic games and perhaps even its *Kapitolia*. A long mound some 400 by 100 metres to the north-east of the city is the probable location of the late antique hippodrome, which may go back to the Roman period.<sup>10</sup>

### 3. Prizes and privileges

Competitors in the *agones* are usually identified by honorary titles recording prestigious victories; these were far more important for their self-representation than their professional specialty, which often remains unknown. The honours that successful competitors received are also central to several texts in this volume (5202, 5209, 5210). According to the traditional scholarly view, the only prize for victors at the top games was a symbolic crown, although they might receive more tangible rewards from their hometown. The organizers of minor games, on the other hand, awarded valuable prizes. Lately this view has been challenged on the grounds that the dichotomy between 'crown games' and 'prize games' was inspired

*Alexandria* (Cairo 2008) 98–9. A stadium at Nikopolis is mentioned by Strabo 17.1.10, but has not been located.

<sup>8</sup> Between the second and early fourth centuries, that is before Roman-style circus games are attested, circuses were built in Tyre, Caesarea, Beirut, Laodicea, Bostra and Anazarbos and Aigai. Cf. J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London 1986) 461–504, 527, 535–9, and 553–16 for the circus of Antinoopolis.

<sup>9</sup> The erection of this Roman building for a Greek event is, ironically, attested only in an Egyptian inscription; cf. Decker, 'Bemerkungen zum Agon für Antinoos', 40.

<sup>10</sup> J. Padró, 'Recent Archaeological Work', in Bowman et al. (edd.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts*, 109–88, esp. 136. The documentary references from the earlier Roman period are problematic: a 'hippodrome street' (*ἵπποδρόμου ἰσοδρομίαν*) is well attested in the first century AD, long before equestrian events were staged, and may be identical to the 'street of the camp of the cavalrymen' (*ἵπποδρόμου ἰσοδρομου παρεμβολῆς*) and perhaps also the 'campus of the cavalrymen' (*ἐκάμπος ἰσοδρομου*), which are possibly to be located in the north-west part of town. These military training grounds were built over by 64, since P. Mich. III 179.12–13 attests a house on the 'former' *campus*. Thus it is possible that none of these texts refers to the same site as the late antique hippodrome. See J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit: Studium zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt a. M. 1990) 83–6, nos. 10 and 24, with his maps. For references from the later period, see LXXVII 5120 3 n., and above 5205 10 n.

by the 19th-century ideal of amateurism, and misrepresents the ancient categorization of games, which developed only gradually and changed over the centuries.<sup>1</sup> For the Hellenistic category of 'stephanic games', literally 'crown games', the debate continues as to whether monetary prizes could also be offered.<sup>2</sup> In the Roman period, when the more prestigious contests were termed 'sacred games', crowns and money could certainly be combined.<sup>3</sup> As the athletic games in the *chora* were a phenomenon of the later imperial period, knowing the category to which they belonged does not help determine what prizes were on offer. The categories do indicate, however, what privileges an athlete enjoyed in his hometown, as some were limited to victors in sacred or in sacred and eiselastic games.

The papyri do not contain much information concerning prizes awarded by the organizers of the contest. A particularly interesting new text in this volume, 5202, a copy on papyrus of an inscription for the poet Apion, mentions the statues, portraits, and golden crowns various cities offered him. These seem, however, to be special honours rather than standard prizes. A letter referring to two minor contests in Alexandria during an imperial visit (SB III 6222), probably by Diocletian, mentions a linen tunic and money as the prize for an ad hoc contest held on the training grounds of the military camp, and a silver object (*brabeion*, perhaps a form of crown), a tunic, and money for a contest in the *Lageion*. As these events were linked to an imperial visit, the prizes may not have been typical of those offered at the regular contests in Egypt. Honorary citizenship, on the other hand, does seem to have been a common reward. Like the champions known from honorary inscriptions across the Mediterranean, the successful competitors in the papyri have multiple citizenships from the cities where they had won, and in some cases had been granted the additional honour of membership of the city council.<sup>4</sup> In their home cities too victors could be made councillors, in one case even though the council already had the full number of members (P. Lips. I 18).

<sup>1</sup> Although H. W. Pleket, 'Zur Soziologie des antiken Sports', *MNR* 36 (1974) 57-87, had already offered a more nuanced view of the situation, the major challenge was made by D. C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago 1984). S. Remijsen, 'The So-Called "Crown-Games": Terminology and Historical Context of the Ancient Categories for *Agones*', *ZPE* 177 (2011) 97-109, sketches the development of the system of categorization.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. W. J. Slater, 'Stephanic Orthodoxy', *ZPE* 182 (2012) 168-78; P. Fröhlich in the *Bulletin épigraphique* of 2012 (REG 125) 546-547.

<sup>3</sup> In SEG LVI 1359.22-25 Hadrian decrees that for each contest the prize money must be counted under the supervision of a Roman magistrate, and placed in a sealed bag next to the crown. Depictions of contests sometimes show prize tables bearing money bags and crowns (e.g. the Galia mosaic).

<sup>4</sup> The famous Marcus Aurelius Ashlepiades was citizen and councillor of Alexandria, Hermapolis, Puteoli, Naples, Elis, Athens, and many more cities (GUR I 240.8-10). In XXVII 2476 there appear, among others, Aurelius Herakleides, citizen of Antinoopolis, Panopolis, Hermapolis, Lycopolis, and Oxyrhynchus, and Marcus Aurelius Horion, citizen of Hermapolis, Antioch, and 'many other cities'.

The custom of rewarding citizens who had won honour for their home city at a prestigious contest with special honours, gifts of food or money, or fiscal privileges was already well established in the classical period.<sup>1</sup> Later the professional associations of competitors lobbied the authorities to confirm more privileges. Documents of the imperial association of performing artists list the privileges and honours recognized in the reign of Hadrian, which included: *proedria* (the right to sit in the first row at public events), *asylia* (inviolability), *synthysia* (the right to join in the offerings at games), and freedom from duties such as military service, billeting, public liturgies, the payment of certain taxes, and the obligation to act as a judge or to provide guarantors.<sup>2</sup> Many of these privileges went back to the Hellenistic period, and were confirmed by successive Roman rulers.<sup>3</sup> The champion poet Apion was honoured by his *patris* Alexandria with a procession in a white four-horse chariot, *sitesis*, and a gift in gold (5202). The triumphal entry into the city was reserved only for the greatest champions. *Sitesis*, the traditional right to free dining in the *prytaneion* (council building) of the home city, seems no longer common later in the Roman era. The one known case (P. Lond. III 1164 (i)) concerns Turbo of Antinoopolis, a sacred victor who sold the double right to free meals (or modest cash pension to buy meals) which he enjoyed because of two consecutive victories at the *Megara Antinoëia*. This local sale of a local privilege may not represent common practice; the international privileges were regulated by the synods and the government and could not normally be passed on even to the children of the beneficiaries.<sup>4</sup> A reward enjoyed only by victors in the prestigious eiselastic games was the so-called *opsonia*, a generous monthly cash pension. This had probably been introduced under Trajan, when the category of eiselastic games first appears, and may be a more modern version of *sitesis*. The best evidence for *opsonia* comes from Hermapolis where a number of requests for payment of pensions in 267 to 268 has been preserved. In 268 the monthly rate of 180 drachmas was increased to 200. Typically *opsonia* were requested in a batch for the previous months, and sometimes even the previous years.<sup>5</sup> In times of crisis emperors might be petitioned to instruct the city to pay overdue pensions.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertius 1.55 suggests that Solon had fixed monetary rewards for Athenian victors at the Olympic and Isthmian games. In the fourth century BC Demosthenes, *Adversus Leptimum* 141, and Isocrates, *Antidosis* 301, mention rewards for victors (*δοσμεναι, τιμαί*).

<sup>2</sup> BGU IV 1074 = Pap. Agon. 1.4; XXVII 2476 = Pap. Agon. 3.5-6; P. Oxy. Heil. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4.1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Le Guen, *Les Associations*, II 70-71.

<sup>4</sup> W. Chr. 158, a rescript of Gallienus of 267, exceptionally granted the orphan Aelius Ashlepiades exemption from all services, offices, and liturgies on account of his deceased father and grandfather, both successful athletes.

<sup>5</sup> SPP V 54-55, 69, 70, 72 col. i, 73 cols. i, ii, and iii, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, and SB XXVIII 13751.

<sup>6</sup> Hadrian ordered a proconsul to examine whether Corinth had enough money left to pay

Even though we have a considerable amount of information about the privileges for victors, some key questions remain. A first issue is where these privileges were valid. Most, evidently, were enjoyed in their hometowns. Others, such as the exemptions from customs dues on personal possessions and from the obligation to act as judge in a provincial court, were empire-wide. A major question that requires better evidence is whether victors could claim privileges and *opsōnia* in every city where they had been granted honorary citizenship.

A second important issue is which competitors enjoyed which privileges. The *opsōnia* were limited to victors of the highest category of contests, namely the sacred and eiselaistic games. Many other privileges seem to have been restricted to *hieronikai*, victors of sacred but not necessarily eiselaistic games. In XLIII 3116 = Pap. Agon. 10, M. Aurelius Sarapion, who had recently won the chariot race at the *Kapitolia* in Antinoopolis, informs a magistrate of his home city that this victory gave him complete exemption from taxes and liturgies. The *Kapitolia* had sacred—and eiselaistic, but that is not relevant in this case—status. Some Roman-period texts add *ἀτελεῖς* ('tax-exempt') to the title *λεπovικαι*.<sup>1</sup> Dig. 27.1.6.13, a second-century law releasing athletes from appointment as guardian, likewise applied only to victors of sacred contests. A marked difference seems to have existed between competitors in the athletic and equestrian competitions on the one hand and the performing artists on the other. There is not a single case of an athlete or horse owner exempted from taxes or civic duties without having won a sacred contest, not even among the members of the athletic association. Members of the association of Dionysiac artists, however, all seem to have enjoyed these privileges, whether or not they had won important victories. This difference can probably be explained by the different origins of the associations. The regional Hellenistic predecessors of the artistic association had already acquired certain privileges for all their members, or at least their officials, which were later confirmed by the Roman authorities. This probably encouraged the performing artists to apply for membership of the synod despite its high cost. Athletes, however, had no professional organization until the first century BC, and only the *hieronikai* had traditionally enjoyed privileges, a situation which was confirmed by the Roman authorities.<sup>2</sup> Another difference, which may be related, is that members of the artists' synod all immediately acquired an office

two-thirds of the pensions, or only half of them (SEG LVI 1359.32–33). Valerian and Gallienus ordered a similar examination when informed that the pensions of the *hieronikai* of Antinoopolis had not been paid during a fifteen-month economic crisis (XLIII 3611).

<sup>1</sup> E.g. I. Ephesos 3005.8–10 (85–95) *τῶν λεπovικῶν [ἐ]στὶ ἀτελεῖς καὶ ἀσχεδῆ[ς] αὐτῶν*; M. Chr. 197.6 (203) *τῶν λεπovικῶν καὶ ἀτελεῖς*; cf. P. Tebt. II 286 (131), P. Hamb. I 14 (108/9).

<sup>2</sup> In Le Guen, *Les Associations* i no. 56, Sulla confirms the privileges of the members of two regional synods of Dionysiac artists (including freedom from military service and liturgies). In SB I 424, on the other hand, Mark Antony confirms the privileges of a synod represented by an athletic trainer and consisting only of *hieronikai*. Cf. J. Ebert, 'Zum Brief des Marcus Antonius an das *κοινὸν*

in the synod—in one case secretary, but usually high priest, or high priestess as in the new text 5208—perhaps to legitimize their privileges, while athletes paid for membership only, and priesthoods were purchased separately later.

The third major issue is how the administration behind this complex circuit of contests functioned, as a member of the artistic association or a victor in sacred (and eiselaistic) games could only secure his privileges if the city had proof of his status. Therefore the artistic association issued notifications of new members, such as P. Oxy. Hels. 25 = Pap. Agon. 4 or 5208, which may have been filed in the city archive.<sup>3</sup> Athletes could only claim privileges after a victory, not on the basis of membership of the athletic association. This explains why P. Lond. III 1178 = Pap. Agon. 6, the membership certificate of the unsuccessful boxer Hermeinos, was preserved in the victor's family archive. Notifications of victory were issued by the city hosting the games (e.g. XLVII 3367 = Pap. Agon. 9; SPP XX 69 = Pap. Agon. 7). They state which competition had been won and when, but refer only in vague terms to the privileges due to the victor which were presumed to be known. On receipt of a notification, the city council asked its clerk to note the special rights with the beneficiary's name in the public registers (e.g. BGU IV 1073 = Pap. Agon. 2, in response to BGU IV 1074 = Pap. Agon. 1). For rarer privileges, the victor might send a separate petition.<sup>4</sup> Wrongful appointment to liturgies could be resolved: in I 59 (292) the *boule* of Oxyrhynchus notifies the *strategos* that a man who had been appointed to sit in the court of the *praefectus* was to be replaced by another, because the former had petitioned for exemption on the grounds of being a *hieronikas*.

Because of the empire-wide boom in sacred games in the third century, by the end of the century a considerable group of potential liturgists could not be called upon by the local authorities. It is in this context of increased financial pressure on the cities that we should read the petition by Gaius Julius Theon for confirmation of his privileges (5210). The professional associations of performing artists and athletes were not happy with the spread of their once exclusive privileges, which were now within reach of local competitors who did not join the associations. On their petition, around 293–304 Diocletian and his colleagues restricted exemption from liturgies to triple *hieronikai* who had a lifelong career as professional and incorruptible competitors and had won at least one victory in Greece or at Rome.<sup>5</sup> The

*Νελας*, APF 33 (1987) 37–42 = *Agonimata* (Stuttgart 1997) 293–301. Membership of the synod of performing artists cost 250 *denarii* in the later third century (Pap. Agon. 1, 3; cf. 5208 10 n.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pap. Agon. 1, 3, and 5.

<sup>4</sup> In PSI XIV 1492, for example, a retired competitor, presumably a herald, applied for the position of herald of the Heptanomia, explaining that the emperors had officially reserved this function for former competitors. See further on this text 5210 introd.

<sup>5</sup> CJ 10.54.1; an older version is preserved in P. Lips. I 44. The edited Justinianic version only mentions athletes, but the older version shows that the rule was issued at the request of both synods, and applied to all *hieronikai*.

petition of Gaius Julius Theon (?) (5210) in 298/9 reflects this new attention to the length of a career and might suggest that this law dates to before 298/9, but he does not specify the number and locations of his victories.

#### 4. From Greek agones to the Roman circus

The heyday of Greek athletics in Roman Egypt was the late third and early fourth century. Although Alexandria may have had contests until the end of the fourth century, *agones* are no longer attested in the *chora* after the 330s. Victors who had lifetime privileges go on using their titles until the middle of the century, though not the victors in ephebic contests who could no longer claim privileges after Diocletian's law.<sup>1</sup>

The end of Greek athletics is a complex phenomenon connected to broad cultural changes, but money was certainly a factor. The sudden expansion of the local agonistic circuit had put financial pressure on the cities and their elites. The expenses of games were normally paid out of the income from an agonistic fund, such as Aurelius Horion's benefaction at Oxyrhynchus, combined with sponsorship by the local elite and sometimes money from the city treasury. A memorandum of 317 on expenses for the forthcoming *Kapitolia* (LXIII 4357) seems to suggest that the planned budget was 527 talents and 500 denarii, that is 427 talents and 500 denarii in income from an unspecified fund, and 100 talents contributed by the councillors. Only 60 of those 100 talents were collected, however, and they had also had to spend an extra 115 talents from the city treasury. Because the local elite could or would not bear the financial burden, it started to weigh more heavily on the cities. When Constantine and his sons confiscated some of the possessions of cities, the loss, even if relatively slight, to civic income may have intensified problems for the *agones*.<sup>2</sup> The success of the Egyptian agonistic circuit was fragile anyway, because the *chora* represented a serious detour for any competitor from outside the region, and the disappearance of just one or two contests made the detour less worthwhile.

Unlike Greek *agones*, circus games grew in popularity in the course of the

<sup>1</sup> Late attestations are P. Hamb. I 21 (915), a *hieronikes pleistonikes paradousas*; GPR VI 41 (c.320), a xystarch—official of the athletic association—at Hermopolis; I 42 (323), ephebic contest of Oxyrhynchus; LX 4079 (328), *Kapitolia* of Oxyrhynchus; P. Herm. Landl. 1 (2) 182, 217; 2 (F) 404, 427 (mid 4th century), *hieronikai*. F. A. J. Hoogendijk, 'Athletes and Liturgists in a Petition to Flavius Olympius, *procons Augustoniacus*', *Pap. Congr. XXVI* (2012) 349–56, publishes a petition from 343 mentioning athletic victories, but not where and when they had occurred. In 364 and 388 Libanius writes to influential men in Alexandria asking them to persuade local athletes to come to Antioch, and refers to—clearly continuing—contests in Egypt, presumably in Alexandria (*Ep.* 843, 1183).

<sup>2</sup> The view of A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford 1964) 732–7, that these confiscations were heavy has been challenged by S. Schmidt-Hofner, 'Die städtische Finanzautonomie im spätantiken Reich', in H.-U. Wiemer (ed.), *Staatlichkeit und politisches Handeln in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 2006) 209–48.

fourth century. These had little to do with the previous Greek-style horse races that had always been part of athletic and artistic *agones*, and in which the number of participants depended on how many horse-owners wanted to compete. Late antique horse races followed the Roman example: they were the main spectacle of games, and the authorities controlled participation by hiring the horses. In Alexandria horse races independent of Greek *agones* had a long tradition.<sup>3</sup> By 315 the Roman circus factions of the Blues and the Greens were certainly involved in their organization, as is attested by some receipts for compulsory purchases of barley authorized by the Prefect for a *hippophagos* from Alexandria (i.e., a liturgist paying for the races), who, was at the same time *factianarius* of the Blues.<sup>4</sup> From the *chora*, there is only one uncertain reference to the Colours in the fourth century.<sup>5</sup> The so-called racing archive, which contains orders for payments to the staff involved in the games (O. Ashm. Shelt. 83–190; SB XX 15078–80; *ZPE* 141 (2002) 162–4), makes no reference to the Colours. These ostraca are from the fourth century, but cannot be dated more precisely.<sup>6</sup> The curse on the horses of the Blues (5205) suggests that within the following century it became customary to match horses and charioteers of the Green stable against horses and charioteers of the Blue stable, each faction having its own supporters. This is consistent with the situation in provincial cities elsewhere in the East.<sup>7</sup> Because of the relatively low number of papyri surviving from the fifth century, it is unclear exactly how horse racing developed (though cf. LXXVII 5120), but by the mid sixth century the factions of the Greens and the Blues dominated the entertainment landscape throughout Egypt. The horses of the Blues and Greens and circus personnel turn up in several accounts and administrative documents from the sixth and seventh centuries, especially at Oxyrhynchus.<sup>8</sup> A column survives on the site of Oxyrhynchus with one inscription honouring the emperor Phocas (602–10) and another marking the area as '(the

<sup>3</sup> Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 31.31, 40–6, 74–90; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 5.26.

<sup>4</sup> P. Cair. Iud. 57 and 58.

<sup>5</sup> CPR VI 63, an order for the payment of wine to a cellarmaster (?) of the Blues from the Hermopolite archive of the estate manager Apollonios, c.320; see J. Gascou, *CE 38* (1983) 226–7 (= BL VIII 106). However, this does not prove that the Blues already organized the entertainment in Hermopolis. The archive is private, and the cellarmaster may just have been a visitor from Alexandria. The suggestion in R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 105, that the entire entertainment sector of Hermopolis was combined 'into some sort of unified enterprise' is based on very slim evidence.

<sup>6</sup> Shelton assigned the archive to the fourth century on palaeographical grounds. His suggestion that it should be dated before c.351 rests on slender grounds; cf. Bagnall, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976) 214–29.

<sup>8</sup> I 140 (550), contract with a supervisor of the racing stable of the comes; 145 (552), receipt concerning goods for the circus horses of the Greens; 152 (618), payment of wages to the 'starters' of the Blues; XXVII 2480 and PSI VIII 953 (565/6), payments of wine by the Apion estate to various people, including expenses for the horses of the Blues.

place belonging to the Blues' (*τίσις διαφέρων τοῖς Βενέταις*).<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions by the Colours in the theatre of Alexandria belong to the same period.<sup>2</sup> Areas in Hermapolis and Heracleopolis were named after the Circus Colours.<sup>3</sup>

The financial consequences of this reorganization remain unclear. The model of Alan Cameron, which links the practical organization by two coloured stables to state-run financing, underestimates the continuing involvement of the city. In Oxyrhynchus, the organization of the horse races was certainly a liturgy in 370 (XVII 2110), and perhaps as late as 405 (LXXVII 5120, with introd.). The archive of the Apions shows that in sixth-century Oxyrhynchus the expenses for circus games, like many other municipal expenses, were the fiscal responsibility of the large estates.<sup>4</sup>

Circus events were not just about horse races. When the factions spread to the provincial cities of the East, they also started to incorporate performing artists.<sup>5</sup> Thus late antique circus programmes, of which this volume contains four new examples, do not all mention races. In XXXIV 2707, P. Bingen 128, and 5216 horse races (*μῦστος ἡνδύχων* or *ἄθλων*) alternate with other entertainments such as mimes, acrobats, animal shows, and athletes. In contrast P. Haraauer 56, 5215, 5217, and 5218 list only performances, and although none of them is complete, the surviving entries show no alternation with races. Instead, a range of different performances was presented. The athletes and mimes performing in the circus were not the direct successors of the champions of the agonistic circuit, but moved in very different social networks. From the fourth century on athletes appear as simple labourers, and are identified by their profession.<sup>6</sup> In the Diocletianic petition and loan in this volume (5210, 5211), the competitors were still identified as *hieronikáitai*—the former moreover as *pleistonikes paradoxos*—but the fifth-century order to supply meat (5213) refers merely to 'athletes'. Mimes figure in a similar text (5212). Roman-style entertainment was a quite different world.

## S. REMIJSEN

<sup>1</sup> SB III 6017 and 6018; cf. Padró, 'Recent Archaeological Work', 194–5, pl. III.

<sup>2</sup> SEG XXXI 1493, 1493, 1494, 1498.

<sup>3</sup> See CPR XXIII 33.3–4 n.

<sup>4</sup> J. Gascou, 'Les institutions de l'hippodrome en Égypte byzantine', *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212 = *Festività di società in Egitto bizantina* (Paris 2008) 51–71, on A. Cameron, *Prolegomena to the Christian Era* (Oxford 1973). Cf. A. Puk, *Das Spielwesen in der Spätantike* (Diss. Heidelberg 2010) 118–27.

<sup>5</sup> The incorporation of the theatre from the fifth century on is described by Cameron, *Circus Factions* 214–29. C. Rouché, *Performers and Patrons at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (London 1993) 57–60, suggests that this derived from a merger of the circus factions and synods; however, the synods had been exclusive and expensive associations that had declined together with the agonistic circuit in the course of the fourth century.

<sup>6</sup> In CPR VIII 44, a list of people who had bought grass, Sois the boxer figures beside a donkey driver and a carpenter. In XLVIII 3426, the athlete Isidoros was paid less than the value of four cucumbers for an odd job.

## INDEXES

Figures in raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Greek words not recorded in LSJ or its Revised Supplement or the *Dictionnaire Gréco-Español* and previously unattested personal names and places are asterisked. The article and (in the documentary sections) *καί* are not indexed.

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#### XVI. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS

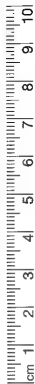
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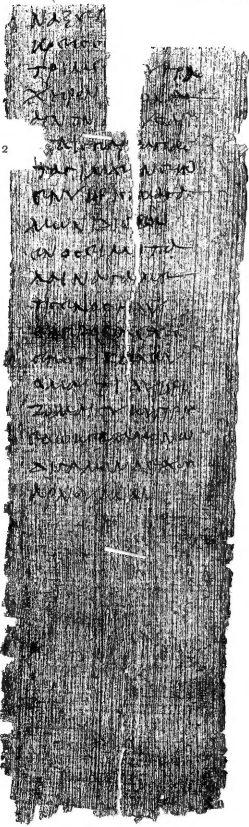
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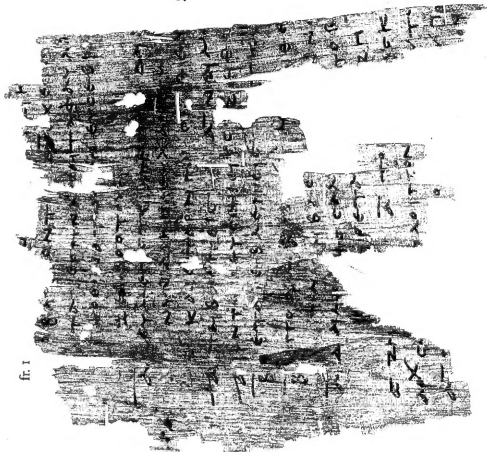


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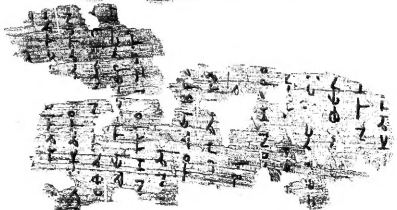


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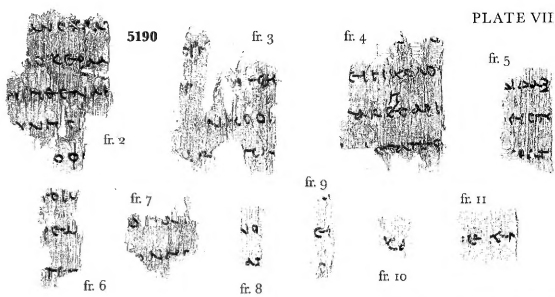
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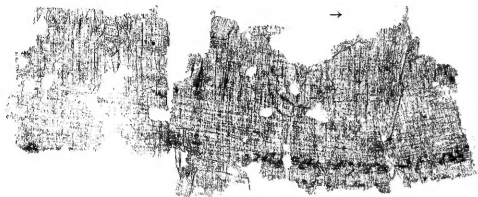
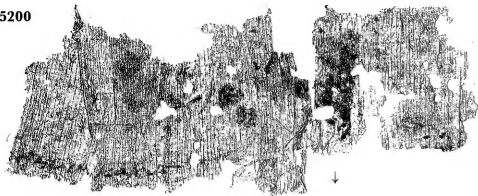


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